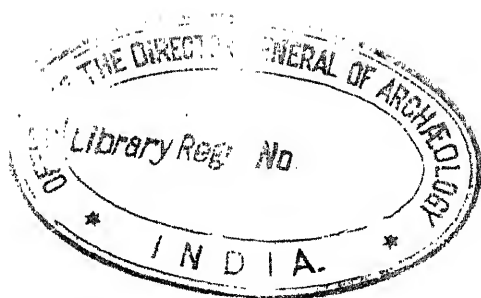


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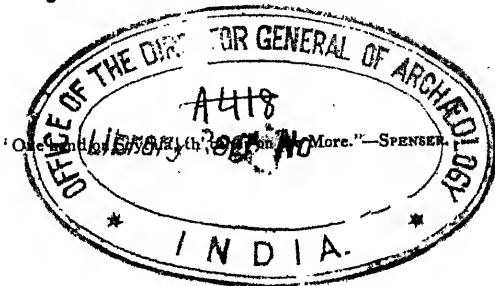
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AND  
*Asiatic Quarterly Review*,  
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JANUARY, 1905.

INDIAN EDUCATIONAL POLICY.

BY J. KENNEDY, I.C.S.

EDUCATIONAL matters have received an unusual amount of attention from Lord Curzon. He referred to them in some of his earliest speeches, as well as in later ones; then came the famous University Commission whose report called forth much contentious criticism, and was followed by a University Act; and now we have an elaborate Blue-Book on the whole subject of Indian education, and a Government Minute of great importance, initiating many radical changes. With such a mass of material before us, it is possible to survey the whole field, and to say what has been achieved, what defects or deficiencies are admitted, what remedies proposed.

In British India, including Burmah, there are some 36,000,000 of children of a school-going age, out of whom rather more than 4,500,000 (4,100,000 boys and 450,000 girls) are under some kind of tuition; 3,900,000 are in public institutions—that is, in institutions which are either paid for or aided from public funds, or which at least comply with the Government curriculum; and nearly 400,000 more are in private elementary schools which have not accepted the Government standard, or fail to meet its requirements. The remaining 200,000 are in

purely indigenous institutions, which are usually small, and almost all religious, schools, held in a mosque, or the courtyard of a temple, or in the teacher's house, or a suburban garden. A great many of them are Koran schools, where the pupils learn passages from the Koran by heart—a duty incumbent upon every Mohammedan. Others are grammar schools for the study of the Oriental classics. There are nearly 2,000 such Sanskrit grammar schools, with 22,000 pupils, mostly in Bengal; and over 2,000 Arabic and Persian grammar schools, with 37,000 pupils, in Upper India. These schools usually give board and lodging, as well as education, to their students free of charge. There are also some celebrated centres of more advanced study. Benares and Navadwip in Bengal are known throughout India as the chief seats for the study of Sanskrit grammar and philosophy; while the fame of Deoband and Khairabad, renowned schools of Islamic theology and canon law, has attracted scholars even from Central Asia. All these institutions lie outside the sphere of Government influence; and although their ideals are noble, and their love of learning is genuine, their methods are antiquated. They are hopelessly unprogressive, and they appeal only to old-fashioned folk who desire to honour the medieval learning which their fathers honoured, and to live as their fathers lived. On the other hand, there is an almost universal consensus of liberal native opinion in favour of the new learning of the West, although some of its deficiencies and aberrations are occasionally regarded with misgiving.

Thus, the system of State instruction has practically entire possession of the field. There are three kinds of public institutions—primary schools, for elementary education; secondary schools, the most of which teach English, as well as some classical language; and colleges, where English is the sole medium of instruction. Of the 3,900,000 children who attended these schools in 1902, 3,200,000 were in the elementary stage, 622,000 in secondary schools, and 22,000 at college. Special schools accounted for the rest. Almost all of those at college or in secondary

schools learnt some classical language, and 493,000 of them studied English.

Now, if we compare these figures with those of former years, the first and most obvious fact is that, while vernacular education has come to a standstill, so far as numbers are concerned, the demand for English steadily grows. The growth of the English Arts colleges is especially remarkable. No less than thirty first-class colleges were founded between 1882 and 1892, and twenty-five during the last quinquennium, although none of the latter were of much importance. There are 140 of these institutions, including several which are, properly speaking, not colleges at all, but high schools with college classes. The increase in the number of students has kept pace with the increase in the number of colleges. In 1887 they had 8,764 students, 14,420 in 1897, and 17,651 in 1902. The growth of the secondary schools in which English is taught has been equally steady and equally rapid. In 1897 there were 2,760 such schools, and 3,097 in 1902; while during the same five years the number of pupils rose from 339,704 to 422,187—an enormous increase, quite disproportionate to the number of new schools opened.

The history of vernacular education is very different. Although Government has always acknowledged its responsibility for primary education, down to 1872 it had done very little for it. Between 1872 and 1882 an immense step was made. The number of primary schools rose from 16,473 to 82,916, and the pupils from 600,000 to over 2,000,000. At the end of the following decade (1892) there were 97,109 primary schools, with over 2,750,000 children. Five years later (1897) we have practically the same number of schools (97,881), while in 1902 the number of schools had fallen to 92,226, the number of scholars from 3,028,000 to 3,009,000. Many of the schools which have been struck off the list or closed were doubtless inefficient, and plague and famine account for the large decrease of scholars in Bombay. But the returns show that

everywhere except in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh the vernacular schools are stationary or declining. In the United Provinces alone is there any considerable increase. The history of the secondary schools which teach only the vernacular, or at least do not teach English, is much the same. There were 2,067 of these in 1897, and 1,935 in 1902, while the number of pupils remained practically the same.

The preference of English is natural. Although it is the *lingua franca* of the educated natives, it is studied, not for itself, but because it is a preliminary qualification for employment in the Government service, and for admission into the learned professions. It is, therefore, not only a study which pays, but a study which is indispensable. Vernacular education is also required for the lower ranks of the Government service, but this affects only a few out of the millions in a primary school, and it appears to be at a standstill for two reasons: (1) Education in India, as the Government says, is largely a matter of money, and the funds available for primary education—the local funds, at any rate—appear to have reached their limit, and to be exhausted; (2) all the most promising localities have been exploited. In Bengal there is said to be a primary school for every two miles of country, but in reality these schools are very unequally scattered; they are urban or suburban, or in large villages where indigenous schools existed before. In other provinces primary schools are much fewer. The rural population, whose children watch the fields and are ignorant of school, remains to be dealt with; and that is the hard part of the problem.

Another peculiarity of Indian education is the unequal demand for it, both in different provinces and among different classes. Out of the 4,500,000 at school, more than one-third belong to the huge province of Bengal; Madras and Bombay supply somewhat less than another third; while the United Provinces and the Punjab, with a larger population, contribute not one-seventh of the scholars. The Burmese are the most literate part of the

population, nearly two-fifths of them being able, it is said, to sign their names.

Of course, the past history of the provinces and the habits of the people are chiefly responsible for these variations. Education has long been popular among the Hindus in Bengal. Respectable folk—landowners or traders—who require a tutor for their sons, open their doors to neighbouring families which are of equally good caste and position, and which will contribute to the pay of the teacher. European influences have been for some centuries at work in Madras and Bombay, and in these provinces educational work has long been carried on with success. In these three provinces one Hindu boy out of every four or five is at some kind of public school. Burmah is, for the most part, Buddhist, and Buddhist monks consider it a duty, and Buddhist laymen a merit, to teach. But many of the indigenous Burmese schools are, for one reason or another, unrecognised by the Department, and the proportion of boys in public—departmentally recognised—institutions is low. In the matter of girls, the Burmese Buddhists take the first place. One Buddhist girl out of every twenty-one attends a public school, while in Bombay it is only one Hindu girl in twenty-seven, and in Bengal one in forty-nine; the proportion among Hindus for all India being one in fifty-one.

Of all classes of the community, the native Christians, who contribute over 130,000 children to the schools, are the most generally, if not the most highly, educated. They are most numerous in Madras, where the Syrian Christians represent the most backward section. By far the most highly-educated class of any are the Brahmans. One-half the Hindu students at college and in the high schools belong to them. On the other hand, the Mohammedans have very generally held aloof from our system of instruction. They do not regard education in a purely utilitarian spirit, as the Hindus do, and their law requires them to undergo a course of religious training before they attack secular subjects. A *Moulvie* skilled in Arabic and in theological



lore is held in great repute, and learned men often abandon lucrative appointments to teach theology for the love of God to ragged but keen-eyed pupils. These causes are general, but it must further be remembered, when we come to statistics, that one-half the Mohammedan population of India is found in the north and north-east of Bengal, where they consist of converts from the aboriginal tribes and are miserably poor. In the United Provinces, where the influence of Sir Syad Ahmad was long paramount, and where the imperial traditions of the race remain, the Mohammedans are in every way educationally in advance of the Hindus, especially with regard to the higher education.

The work of education is carried on partly by a Government department, partly by municipalities and district boards—the equivalent of our English County Councils—and very largely by means of grants in aid. The total expenditure in 1901-1902 slightly exceeded 400 lakhs of rupees, say £2,750,000. One hundred and twenty-seven lakhs were realized by fees, and 83 lakhs came from subscriptions and endowments; the municipalities and district boards contributed 74 lakhs, and Government the rest.

Among the institutions supported solely from public funds, the colleges are, as a rule, the special charge of Government, while municipalities maintain most of the secondary schools, and municipalities and district boards are entrusted with primary education. But there is no very fixed rule in the matter. In Madras there are five municipal colleges, while Government supports a number both of secondary and primary schools, which are intended to serve as standard models for the rest. By far the largest part of the work is done by aided institutions. One-half of the Arts colleges, three-fourths of the secondary schools, and four-fifths of the primary ones are aided. The system of grants in aid is widely extended in Bengal and Madras; Burmah, where there is an ample field for it, appears to be educationally in a stage of transition; in Bombay, on the other hand, large and expensive State institutions are in

favour. The aided schools and colleges are naturally of almost every description. Some of them, like the M.A.O. college at Aligarh, and the colleges of the Scotch missions in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, are equal to any. Many, again, are poor institutions, with little prospect of permanence. Generally speaking, the funds of these aided institutions are small, their teachers are badly trained, and their average attendance is a good deal less than in either the municipal or the Government schools. But the resources of the municipalities and district boards are not very elastic, and their contributions to education appear to have reached their limit. The future of education in India depends, therefore, either on larger expenditure by the Government or on an extension of the aided system.

The outline we have given will suffice to show the present condition of education in India, its progress and its deficiencies, so far as numbers are concerned; but the question of quality is equally important, and it is with regard to quality, rather than to quantity, that the Government finds fault. The Government Minute remarks that education has done much during the last fifty years in diffusing knowledge, in opening up new avenues of employment, and in improving the character of public officials, although it may be doubted whether this improvement is due to education alone. But it admits certain notable defects. Chief among these are the pursuit of education solely with an eye to Government employment, the excessive prominence given to examinations, and the consequent tendency to cram; lastly, the neglect of the vernacular. The Government rejects the proposal to open the doors of Government employment to competitive examination. It points out that the tests imposed by the Universities are a sufficient guarantee of educational fitness, that the ability to pass an examination is not the only qualification it requires, and that it is itself the best judge of the men it needs. It may be added that religious and class distinctions, as well as old traditions, have to be carefully considered in recruiting the ranks of the

governing class. So far the Government is undoubtedly in the right.

It is also undoubtedly right in discouraging the tyranny of examinations, and in abolishing the system of payment by results. In this it follows English experience. The system of payment by results is one of the most powerful inducements to cram, and it contributes to financial instability. For it there will now be substituted a system of according grants on much the same lines as those which govern the grant of aid in England. An increase in the inspecting staff will be necessary for the purpose, and precautions will have to be taken against an abuse of power by the underlings; but this reform will be received with general satisfaction.

There are other educational difficulties with which the Government can deal only in an indirect fashion, if at all. Some of them are inherent in the native character—the excessive training of the memory, the fondness for metaphysical hair-splitting, the love of verbal distinctions, and the neglect of facts. Other defects are inherent in the system itself. It is an exotic, it is utilitarian, and it is secular. Its chief defects are twofold. It is not true to say that there is no religious training; it is given in many aided, both missionary and non-missionary, schools, as well as in some municipal ones out of school hours; but in a land where the religion of the rulers is different from that of the subjects, religion is necessarily excluded from the State system. And apart from religion it is hard to find any ethical basis of education, and of the development of character. Conceit and irreverence are not peculiar to Indian youths, but they are prominent in the Indian school and college educated generations, and they are in striking contrast with the reverence, the affection and obedience which the purely indigenous systems inculcated as of primary importance. Secondly, our system of education, being an exotic, has no background, no experience or association of ideas upon which to work. It moves in a world of words and unrealities. Mr. Sharp, an

inspector of education in the Central Provinces, gives a vivid illustration of this in his sketch of the clever village schoolboy :

“On the whole, this lad of fourteen years strikes us as possessed of a coolness and an acuteness equal to those of an English youth of twenty-two, working upon an experience narrower than that of a child of seven. Hence there is a brilliancy, but at the same time an artificial tone, about his attainments. He is wanting in breadth of view, in versatility, in solidity. He will explain a piece of poetry more difficult than Chaucer, recount the history of the Ramayana, work a complicated sum in interest, astonish us with his quickness in tables, interpret the village registers or balance an account with accuracy. This is fairly safe ground. More than this, he will rattle off a list of the Moghul emperors, or of the British possessions in Africa. Probably, however, he does not know who the Moghuls were, or when they lived, nor whether Cape Town is a city, a country, or a mountain. That which he really knows, he knows with accuracy ; but his knowledge is like a slender column, supported on a narrow basis of experience, and unbuttressed by information from surrounding sources. Such a column, we much fear, may soon collapse.”

The inexperience of the schoolboy is not remedied by the wisdom of the teacher. Master and pupil are products of the same system : they have studied the same books, learnt the same rules ; of anything beyond they have no conception ; their ignorance is great. Thus a supply of trained teachers is the first necessity. This is especially felt in the teaching of English. The teacher knows only his book-work : colloquial English is unknown to him ; and when the boy proceeds to college, he finds that he has to study an unknown subject in an unknown tongue. No wonder that he requires to attend four times as many lectures as a Scotch or English student does.

For the evils we have described there are no direct remedies. The Government advocates the extension of

the *Kindergarten* system, and of rural schools teaching subjects calculated to awaken and interest the minds of village children. It encourages the employment of trained teachers, provides for the extension of normal schools and training colleges, and regulates their studies. But space fails us to follow out all the Government proposals in detail; suffice it to say that two principles appear to underlie them: (1) Departmental, or at least expert, supervision is to be brought to bear much more strictly upon every branch, from the metropolitan college to the village school, and the qualification of educational fitness, according to the standard of the State, is to be rigidly enforced for all employment under Government. (2) An effort is to be made to impart an ethical basis to education, and to bring the students under stricter discipline, by collecting them in hostels managed by the teachers or professors, wherever this is possible. On the other hand, the Government sets its face against the evil pre-eminence of the examination system. Hitherto the model of the London University has reigned supreme. Now the Indian Universities, like the London University itself, are no longer to be mere examining boards: they are to approximate so far as may be to Oxford and Cambridge; while the high schools, instead of being mere day-schools, are to approach to the type of an English public school, where that is possible. In making this attempt to alter the character of Indian education, the Government is actuated by a lofty ideal: "Education in the true sense means something more than the acquisition of so much positive knowledge, something higher than the mere passing of examinations; it aims at the progressive and orderly development of all the faculties of the mind; it should form character and teach right conduct." These are noble words. We hope that the staff of teachers may be able to live up to them, and that the aided schools may keep pace with their requirements.

## RUSSIA AND CHINA.

BY E. H. PARKER.

IT is an established historical fact that during the thirteenth century Russia was well known to the Mongol rulers of China, and that almost up to the fall of the Mongol dynasty in 1368 part of the Peking Emperor's bodyguard consisted of Russian war-captives, or of serfs sent to him as presents by his relatives ruling in the West. For nearly three centuries after the disappearance of the Mongols into their native deserts, nothing whatever was heard of Russia, for the simple reason that the Chinese dynasty occupying the Peking throne during that space of time (1368-1644) never succeeded in subduing the ejected Mongols on their own nomadic ground, and therefore an impenetrable Mongol barrier always lay between China and Russia. Besides, after the unsuccessful attempt of Demetrius IV. to shake off the Tartar yoke in 1380, the Russians persisted in struggling for independence, until at last Ivan the Great (1462-1505) overthrew the Kipchak Tartars altogether. Ivan the Terrible (1533-1584), along with the merchant-guilds of Russia, made tributary the Kipchak sub-kingdom of Tobolsk (Sibir), whilst the adventurer Yermak and his lieutenants engaged in warfare with its ruler Kutsium Khan (the K'u-ch'êng Khan of Chinese authors, 1584-1598). The Western Mongols, or Kalmucks, lying between the Russified Kipchak powers and the Kalkas, or Chinese Mongols, for some time thus formed a little-known buffer State, behind which gradually developed two great rival powers, each in almost entire ignorance of the other. These two great powers were the Russia of the Romanoffs (1613) and the China of the Manchus (1616). True, between 1567 and 1619 the Russian Czars are said to have sent missions to Peking, but no trace of such events can be found in the Chinese history of the Ming

dynasty. The first two Manchu conquerors (1616-1643) were not yet Emperors of China, and the first two Romanoffs (1613-1676), like the first two Manchus, were rather semi-barbarous chieftains than Emperors; endowed, however, with sufficient natural sagacity and ambition to lay the foundations of real empire. The first young Manchu Emperor of China (1644-1662) and his Regents may be compared with young Peter and his two incapable brothers under the regency of their sister Sophia (1676-1689). It was under Peter the Great (1689-1725) and K'ang-hi (1662-1722) that the modern relations between Russia and China seriously commenced. Both States had for two or three generations back been engaged in pushing forward their frontiers, and consequently each one had as good a moral right as the other to any conquests made good in the Amur region. Each of the two States, when the two first came to blows, was imperfectly informed as to who its great adversary really was.

The first Manchu official record is in the late spring of 1640, when, during the prosecution of the annexation policy on the Amur, news arrived at the Manchu headquarters that the city of Yaksa had been conquered. Yaksa is also the name of a petty stream running into the Amur; it had been under the rule of a Tungusic chief called Albazi, whence the Russians have always called the town Albazin. In 1643 and 1644 a second successful campaign on the Amur is recorded. The name "Russian" does not yet appear, but there can be no doubt that the operations in question have reference to the first Cossack raids; for between 1643 and 1647 these freebooters and sable-hunters, under Vassily Pojarkoff, made an extensive reconnaissance of the country north of the Amur, from the mouth of that river right up to Albazin.

Towards November, 1652, news was brought that the Manchu forces sent north from Ninguta had been defeated "by the Russians." Very early in 1655 another expedition was sent, and six months later the Chagan Han ("White

Khan ") of Oloss, or Russia, sends an envoy with tribute. In the summer of 1658 the *Amban* of Ninguta succeeds in inflicting a defeat upon the Russians, capturing both arms and prisoners; the prisoners were divided as slaves amongst the successful warriors. In the summer of 1660 the following important statement is laid before the Emperor: "In the year 1655 the White Khan of Russia sent a mission, but one unprovided with the usual submissive address: as on the first occasion, the mission was dismissed with some presents, coupled with an order to send tribute annually. In 1656 a second mission appeared, this time with an address; but the envoy declined to kneel. On this occasion it was resolved to refuse both presents and audience, and to dismiss the envoys. On yet a third occasion the White Khan has now sent a mission with both address and tribute; it has been three years *en route*. The document was dated 'year 1165,' and the ruler styled himself 'Great Khan.' Under these circumstances it is proposed to drive the mission away and refuse the tribute." The Emperor, however, ordered by decree: "We must be considerate to gross ignorance. Give them a banquet, and receive the tribute. Also give presents to the White Khan and to his envoy; but we will not send a return mission. Explain to the envoy why he cannot, on account of the boastful impropriety of the address, be admitted to audience, and then dismiss him." I do not understand what Western era can be supposed to begin in the year 495, but the rest of the account is well supported by Western (chiefly, of course, Russian) authorities. Alexis, father of Peter, was the Czar in 1652; it was he who first dominated the Cossacks; and the existing caravan trade between Siberia and China was an ancient one. In 1649 Khabaroff had continued the discoveries north of the Amur, and had defeated the Chinese, but had ultimately thought it better to retire; still, from 1651 the town of Yaksa was held by the Russians. In 1653-1656 Stepanoff made repeated attempts to ascend the Sungari; having at



last reached a point three days' sail up the river, he was driven back on June 30, 1658, by a Manchu fleet carrying 3,000 men, and was ultimately killed in a scrimmage just below the embouchure. With regard to the missions, that which was under Baikoff left in 1653, and arrived in 1656. In 1658 the Russians mention two missions under Perpilyeff and Yarykin respectively, all three equally unsuccessful, on account of the refusal to *kotow*.

In the autumn of 1660 a report was received in Peking that a force had been sent to the spot where the Sa-ha-lien (Amur) joins the Sung-koh-li (Sungari), and that the presence of a rebel horde of Russians had been established on the west frontiers of the Fiyarka Tungusic tribes. The Manchu force had advanced as far as the "dog-using" population, and was lying in wait below the banks, ready to pounce upon the enemy. The Russians had to abandon their boats and decamp; many were drowned; over sixty heads were cut off; forty-seven women were taken prisoners, besides muskets, armour, and weapons of all kinds. Fifteen Tungusic villages were then called in to their Manchu allegiance, and were encouraged to stand firm. The first Manchu Emperor of China died in 1661, and his successor in reciting his father's virtues, mentions how he had extended his influence "west as far as the Kalmucks, north up to the Kalkas and Russians." These particular events do not seem to be confirmed by any Russian authority under the date 1660-1661; but in 1659 Yaksa was destroyed, to be rebuilt by Tchernigovski in 1665. In 1667-1669 the fort was besieged, and the Russians were forced by hunger to surrender. Nothing more is said by the Chinese until 1671, when it is observed that, "though the Russians have given in their submission, every precaution must still be taken, and the troops be kept up to the mark." In 1672 two more unsuccessful missions are mentioned by Russian authorities, apparently those under Milovaioff and Kavyakoff.

The next Chinese record is in the summer of 1676,

when the White Khan of Russia sends an envoy named Ni-kwo-lai [Nicholas Spafari] with tribute of local produce. The officers reporting this event announce that Russia is situated in an out-of-the-way, distant quarter, and "from the remotest times has never had any communication with China." (Manifestly the Emperor had not properly digested the Mongol histories.) "Her people are totally ignorant of Chinese written characters, and are unacquainted with the proper form of memorializing, yet it appears she is now anxious to show deference and bring tribute." The young Emperor K'ang-hi says: "Admirable conduct indeed; let the Regents inform me what they propose to do." Two months later it is explained that "Nicolai is so ignorant that it would be better not to furnish him with an imperial order. The Mongol Colonial Office can instruct him as follows: 'If your master wishes for friendly relations, let him send back our deserter Gantimur, and despatch a further envoy to regulate his proceedings according to our forms, when you will be allowed to trade as usual.'" In the meanwhile the envoy was presented with a saddle-horse, a gown, and some clothing. The Russian accounts seem to make out that the Greek Spafari was sent by the Tribunal of Envoys in 1677; it is to be noted that after the word Nicolai the Chinese add a second name, which looks like Hambrilovitch, and no doubt the Russian archives are capable of "placing" the Christian name of Spafari's father. As to the Tungusic chief Gantimur, who had "'verted" and become a Christian, it is a curious coincidence that about forty years after this the Hospodar of Moldavia was also named Gantimur; but only Russians are competent to decide whether there can be any possible historical connection between these two men.

At the beginning of 1683 an officer named Langtan returned from a political mission to the Daours and Solons, bringing with him the latest intelligence upon Russian affairs. The Emperor, who was now ruling individually,

free of the Regents, decided that "with 3,000 men there ought to be no difficulty in overcoming the Russians, though war is as a rule a dangerous thing." He ordered 1,500 men to be sent up from Kirin and Ninguta with a flotilla of boats and "red-clothes" cannon; also a stock of muskets and men in proportion competent to use firearms. These troops were to rendezvous at Hêh-lung Kiang and Humar, where forts were to be constructed opposite those of the Russians, until an opportunity for attack should occur. It was estimated that the Korchin and Sibé Mongols could provide 725 tons of grain, enough for three years' consumption, and it was decided also to make the troops sow more grain as they should arrive. Hêh-lung Kiang city being only five days' journey from the Solon village, it was arranged that a midway station should be established, and that supplies of oxen and sheep, besides 500 remounts, should be obtained from the Solons. At this time the most northerly Manchu Military Governor lived at Ninguta, and it was he who had to carry out these measures. In the autumn of 1683 the name of Nipchu (Nertchinskoi) first appears, and it is pointed out that the Russians can easily reinforce themselves with men and stores from this place, "so that it would be better to concentrate all our forces at once upon Yaksa before the enemy can gain additional strength, and not divide our strength upon Humar." A Russian captive, or renegade, named I-fan (Ivan) is here mentioned, and it seems that his services were utilized as a spy moving to and fro; two other Russian messengers, named Mi-hai-lo (Michael) and Mo-lo-tui (? Mordvi) are named, and an order appears enrolling all surrendered Russians under a separate military commander of their own nationality at Peking. A month later the Emperor issues a manifesto setting forth the following grievances: "(1) Attacks upon our Solons; (2) concealing Gantimur; (3) raiding the Fiyarka and Kilor Tunguses; (4) enticing into a house, and then burning alive, Etirké and nineteen other sable-hunters of the Solon, Daour, and Orochon tribes: on the other hand, we have captured

thirty Russians and injured none of them. If Gantimur is returned, and the Nipchu and Yaksa Russians will mend their ways, all will be well ; if not, war ; and if the displaced Russians think they are too far from home to go back, they will be received kindly as our subjects."

Early in 1684 the Manchu authorities urged prompt action once more ; it is pointed out that the Russians have twelve stations between the Argun and Shilka junction and Yaksa ; that they are perfecting their supply arrangements ; and that the Kalka Mongols should not be allowed to traffic with them. The first thing to be done is to cut and destroy the crops they have just sown. Another year passes without anything beyond skirmishing, but a captured Russian reports the arrival of a new chief named Eliksie (Alexis), the steps taken by him to prevent further Russian massacres of Daours, and the fact that replies were being awaited by him to further despatches which had been sent to the ruler of Russia. In the summer of 1685 the Emperor, who was then at Jêho, received from his Generals P'êng-ch'un and Sabsu the welcome news of the fall of Yaksa and the surrender of Alexis. All the Russians had been allowed to go free ; Pa-si-li (Vassily) and a few others who preferred it were given quarters in Mukden ; and the Solons, Daours, Kalkas, and Kalmucks taken by the Chinese at Yaksa were sent to their respective homes. " Thus," adds the Emperor, " after thirty years of harassing in the Sungari region, the Russians have been defeated without any loss of life."

The above events are amply confirmed from Russian sources, according to which Langtan had been despatched by the Emperor K'ang-hi in 1682. Following upon his visit, the Chinese built, over against Albazin, two wooden forts, defended by 1,500 men, and connected by post-stations with Aigun and Argun. It must be explained that Aigun is about as far to the south-east of Albazin (Yaksa) as Argun is to the south-west, Albazin occupying, as it were, the apex of the great Amur curve. " Humar " appears in the Russian maps as Khumarsk, and is a settlement at the

junction of the river Khumar with the Amur, about half-way between Albazin and Aigun (or Sahalien Ula, as it is also called, just opposite Blagoveschtschensk, of recent inauspicious memory). According to Russian accounts, Aigun was founded in 1684, and served until 1691 as the official residence of the new Manchu Military Governor appointed to these parts. It is curious to find that both Michael and Ivan are also mentioned by the Russians as two prisoners captured by the Manchus in 1683, and utilized by the Emperor K'ang-hi in 1684 to convey a letter to the Governor of Albazin. The sable-hunter "Etirké," is manifestly the man Ordighy, who had been captured near the river Bystrya by Russian adventurers. The late Dr. John Dudgeon, of Peking, who published a great many of these particulars (gathered from the Archimandrite Palladius and others) in 1871, makes out that the Chinese forces appeared on July 4, 1685. They numbered 15,000 men, with 50 cannon and 100 field-guns, against a total Russian force of 450 men, 3 cannon, and 300 other firearms, all under the command of Alexei Tolbuzin. On July 22 the Chinese were defeated, but the Russians surrendered on condition that they were allowed to depart freely to Nertchinsk (*sic*). Twenty-five Russians, under a priest named Vassily Leontyeff, elected to accept the Chinese Emperor's offer and proceed to Peking. Another Russian account, recently published, says the Chinese forces numbered 5,000 men under Langtan, Bandashi, and Sashou. These two last-mentioned personages are evidently the Royal Duke P'êng-ch'un (who, as *Ta-shwai*, or Commander-in-Chief, would probably be styled P'êng Ta-shwai), and the Military Governor Sabsu. From the Chinese point of view Langtan was quite a subordinate officer, but being an older hand at Russian affairs (as Sir Harry Parkes and Sir Thomas Wade were in English affairs when interpreters during the China War), he bulked largely in the enemy's mind (as they did).

In the beginning of 1686 an imperial decree announces that "although we abandoned Nipchu to the Russians, it is

now reported that they have begun to rebuild Yaksa. The question arises, Shall we attack them at once, or wait until Hêh-lung Kiang and Merguen are properly settled?" A month later a further announcement is made that the Solons have captured a Russian named Ok-somu-kwo (? Aksum-koff), who states that, during the previous year, "Ivan, chief of Nipchu, had ordered the Alexei whom we released to occupy Yaksa once more, with 500 men, and that the town had now sufficient supplies for two years." The Emperor decided to leave the Russians no more time, but to repeat the strategy of last year at once. Towards the end of the summer he seems to express surprise that no replies have yet arrived from the White Khan to the various letters sent by Nicolai, Alexei, and the Russian prisoners. "But the Dutch envoy says his country borders on Russia, and possesses the means of communicating with it in writing. It will be well to give him a letter for the White Khan, explaining to him that the Nipchu and Yaksa Russians must really respect our frontiers. When the White Khan's memorial to me is ready, let his envoy proceed hither direct by land; but if the journey is too arduous, let the Dutch envoy bring it by sea. Give a copy also for transmission by the West Ocean Country [Portugal?]." A month later we find Sabsu, with 2,300 men, entrenching round Yaksa, and stowing his boats away at suitable points. But, still a month later, a letter arrives by way of the Kalka Mongols from an advance envoy or messenger despatched by the Government of Russia: "We do not understand the written communications you have sent to us, but Nicolai explains that your grievances are about our detention of Gantimur, and about the harassing of your frontiers. Please arrest any such marauders in future, and send them in to us for execution. I am sending special envoys to arrange frontier questions; and meanwhile I despatch Mikifur Wei-niu-kao and Ivan Fa-go-lo-wa with this letter, begging you to raise the siege of Yaksa, and to write out a comprehensible statement for us." The Emperor writes a minute: "Tell Sabsu to with-

draw from Yaksa, and collect his forces at some fresh camp near the flotilla. He may inform the Russians that their movements are free, provided there is no plundering; in the meanwhile wait till the special frontier envoy indicated arrives."

The Chinese dates given above are probably more accurate than the Russian as given by Dr. Dudgeon, who mistakes most of his dates by one year in one chapter, but not in the others. According to the latter, or correct dates, in July, 1686, the Chinese attacked Yaksa with 8,000 men and 40 guns; the siege lasted until May, 1687, and in the course of it Alexei Tolbuzin was killed. A German exile named Beuthen, who was managing the engineering works for Tolbuzin, then took over charge. Then suddenly there arrived an order from the Chinese Emperor to raise the siege, and Langtan accordingly withdrew in the tenth moon (about Christmas). The Russians have, moreover, been able to obtain a few exact Chinese dates from the Manchu biography of Langtan. It appears from this that, on the third day of the fifth moon in 1686, the Manchu troops arrived at Sahaljen Ula (Aigun), and on the twenty-eighth at Yaksa. Alexei was killed subsequently to this date. Langtan withdrew, and, on the eleventh day of the eleventh moon, Pei-tun (Beuthen) sent to request a supply of provisions. The Chinese who took the provisions reported that there were only twenty Russians left, and that even these were sick. As to the two advance messengers sent from Russia, it is easy to identify the first with Nicephorus Wenyukoff; it is to be presumed that his companion must have borne a name something like Vagorova. Between their arrival and that of the delimitation envoy, one Stephanus Lozinoff was sent to inquire at what place the Chinese Emperor desired the envoys to meet, and the Emperor decided for the Selenga River (apparently modern Kiachta).

Early in the year 1687 the Emperor is distressed to hear that the Manchu troops are suffering much from sickness,

and he therefore despatches two doctors with a store of medicines. He adds: "Though the Russians are our enemies, offer them medicines, too, so that they may go home cured, and tell their friends how good we are." In the late summer he says: "Let Sabsu withdraw his troops to recruit and refit at Hêh-lung Kiang and Merguen, explaining at the same time to the Russians that we only do so because a special envoy from Russia is coming, whose approach has been heralded to us by the Tushetu Khan of the Kalkas." Dr. Dudgeon mentions that Beuthen withdrew in the winter of 1688; and that the Russians were suffering from scurvy, but declined the medicines offered to them by the Chinese Emperor. It is quite certain, however, that he ought to have said "the winter of 1687," for the biography of Langtan states that, in the fourth moon of the twenty-sixth year (May-June, 1687), Pei-tun was refused permission to cultivate the land around Yaksa, and that, on the twenty-first day of the seventh moon, Langtan withdrew to Ninguta.

In the fifth moon of 1688 the Emperor recites to the special envoys charged with the frontier delimitation the various grounds of dispute: (1) The Russian raids upon the Humar and Sungari Rivers; (2) the occupation of Nipchu and Yaksa belonging to China; (3) the harbouring of Gantimur and the other two military chiefs. "Apart from the Amur, Sungari, Nonni, and Hurka (which, of course, are ours on account of Kirin, Ninguta, and the Sibe, Korchin, Solon, and Daour tribes), we must lay claim to the mouth of the Amur; and such tributaries as the Omogun, Niumen, Chinkiri, etc., are also required for us in the interests of the Orochons, Kilors, Pilars, Hechês, and Fiyarkas, all our kinsmen: we must have every tributary on both sides of the Amur from Nipchu to the sea. If our deserters are surrendered, we surrender their prisoners and deserters, arrange a frontier, and grant trade."

A few days after the mission had started, it was



announced that the road was blocked on account of the war then raging between the Kalmucks and the Kalkas; but the envoys sent on the Emperor's ultimatum (as above) by a special messenger. Meanwhile the Kalkas were thanked by the Emperor for arranging to supply fodder and provisions for the mission. It was not until the fourth moon of 1689 that news came of the arrival at Nipchu of the Russian envoy Fei-yao-to-lo. On this the Chinese mission, under Sogedu as the chief envoy, received orders to hasten to Nipchu at once, instead of proceeding to the Selenga.

All the above events, from 1682 onwards, took place during the precarious regency of Peter's elder sister Sophia, and hence it is not to be wondered at that there was delay in Russian diplomacy. The envoy who took so long to arrive was Feodor Golovin, believed to have been the son of Alexei Golovin, Governor-General of Siberia, who in 1697 was one of Peter's ambassadors to Holland, Peter himself forming one of the suite. According to the Jesuit accounts, the Chinese mission included the priests Pereira and Gerbillon (who, like Langtan, probably to all intents conducted the negotiations, but were officially ignored). The Russian accounts are to the effect that they left Peking on May 29, 1688, but failed to reach the Selenga on account of the war going on in Mongolia. They set out a second time on June 13, 1689, and took six weeks to reach Nipchu, where they had to wait a fortnight for Feodor's arrival; the irrepressible Langtan was with them (though he is not even mentioned in the Imperial Chinese decrees). It is difficult to guess who the "Dutch envoy" can be who so kindly undertook to hurry up the Czar; for, although in 1685 the Manchu annals do incidentally allude to the "treatment accorded to Dutch and other missions," neither Western nor Chinese records mention any Dutch mission subsequent to Van Hoorn's of 1665. As the Jesuit Verbiest was a Dutchman, and as he assisted K'ang-hi with his artillery, it is just possible that he may

be meant—the more so in that Pereira may be the man from Western Ocean State who received a copy of the message, as above related. “Western Ocean State” was for a long time the name for Portugal. Pereira, the Superior, had recommended as attendants upon the Emperor Fathers Gerbillon and Bouvet, who had newly arrived in Peking in March, 1688, a few days after Verbiest died.

In the twelfth moon of the twenty-eighth year (January-February, 1690), the Emperor received Sogedu's report. He says: “Feodor at first claimed both Nipchu and Yaksa as legitimate Russian extensions. In reply to this the Chinese put in a claim for the old Maomingan Mongol territory, extending from the Onon up to Nipchu. They also pointed out that Yaksa was the original residence of their own hunting chief Albazi. At last the Russians joyfully gave way. Maps were produced, and a treaty of seven articles was drawn up in Manchu, Chinese, Latin, Russian, and Mongol.” There is a small tributary of the Shilka called the Gorbitsa. The treaty defines it as being near the Ch'orna (= Russian *Tchernaya*—“Black”) or Ulunmu (= Manchu *Uronon*) River, and says that the frontier shall be “from the source of the Gorbitsa, along the line of the Stony Hing-an Range to the sea, all tributaries of the Amur taking their rise south of that range belonging to China.” The second frontier line is the Argun, the streams on the north bank of which were ceded to Russia. Yaksa was to be immediately destroyed, and trespassers were on both sides to be rigorously dealt with. Neither side had to surrender anybody already in their keeping. Merchants provided with passports were allowed to trade, and no further fugitives were to be harboured.

The Russians have little, if anything, to add to these important particulars; in fact, the only authentic full text of the treaty seems to survive in the Chinese. August 27, 1689, is the date of its signature (according to Western calculation), and the term “Stone Mountains even unto the

sea" is admitted by the Russian account of 1899, which recognises that "the Amur became the possession of China," and that the present Usuri province was "usually supposed to belong to China." It was in this year (1689) that Peter put his intriguing sister Sophia in a convent, and became absolute ruler on his own account. The Russians record, however, that in May, 1690, Langtan set out to erect stones at the junction of the Shilka with the Argun. This inscription was in four languages, and cited parts of the treaty. As we shall see, the Chinese had no record of this in 1853.

In the tenth moon of 1693 the White Khan of Russia sends an envoy with tribute, and his "memorial" is translated for the Emperor, who observes that "the Russians are of robust material, but their disposition is as perverse as their ideas of right are inelastic. From the Kia-yüeh Pass it is eleven or twelve days to Hami, whence twelve or thirteen again to Turfan, where five different sorts of men congregate. Beyond Turfan are the frontiers of Russia. It is said their State is over 20,000 li [6,000 miles] in extent, and possibly Chang K'ien (discoverer of the Oxus and Pamir region B.C. 140) got thus far. The Ming dynasty Emperor Yung-loh (1402-1424) certainly never got more than 1,000 li from this place, but General Hoh K'ü-ping (B.C. 123) is said to have been 5,000 li beyond our frontiers, and possibly that is true, for he left records on stone. Though it may be a glorious thing to receive the tribute of foreign vassals, I fear that the business may yet cause trouble to our descendants. Still, if China keeps peaceful and strong within herself, foreign quarrels are not likely to arise." The mission above alluded to is that under the Schleswig-Holsteiner Ysbrands Ides, which left Moscow on March 14, 1692, and reached Peking November 5, 1693. Ides had been one of Peter's tutors or advisers before he became independent Czar, and Peter was now bent on improving the commerce of Russia. Gerbillon, again, and two Portuguese as well, acted as interpreters for the mission, which had audience on Novem-

ber 15, and was entertained at a banquet on November 19. It is believed that Ides had to *kotow*, and also to sit cross-legged on the ground in Manchu style when at the banquet; but, as he wrote his account of the expedition under the Czar's orders, there is little doubt that Peter must have concealed the various snubs he received. His presents and his too independent letter were returned, and no favours whatever were conceded. The Emperor's remarks about Yung-loh seem inaccurate, for in 1410 that monarch appears to have reached the Kerulon, if not the Onon, too; and, indeed, it is stated on Russian authority that he it was who first founded the city later (1684) called Aigun. Hoh K'ü-ping never reached anything like a distance of 5,000 li beyond the frontier, but several other Chinese Generals did reach the Kerulon region towards the beginning of our era, during the Hiung-nu wars. The Huns, Avars, Hiung-nu, Scythians, Hephthalites, Turks, and Ouigours are all one and the same people in effect—*i.e.*, they were different ruling tribes of *Turks*.

The Kalmuck-Kalka war had driven many Kalka refugees into Russia, but after K'ang-hi had taken the field in person against the Kalmuck ruler Galdan, who had tried to frighten China with the threat of borrowing Russian troops, the Kalkas were only too glad to seek Manchu hospitality. After his defeat in 1695, on the banks of the Tola River (not very far from Kiachta), Galdan would gladly have fled to Russia; but, unfortunately for his plans, his own nephew, Tsevang Rabtan, was hostile to his interests; and Ayuki, the Khan of the Turgut branch of the Kalmucks at Tarbagatai, had given his daughter in marriage to Tsevang Rabtan. After casting his eyes vainly in the sole remaining direction of escape—*i.e.*, Tibet—and being refused asylum by the Russians, the unhappy Galdan in 1697 poisoned himself. Tsevang Rabtan surrendered the body, and in gratitude for this complaisance China recognised as Kalmuck territory everything lying west of the Altai Mountains. Tsevang Rabtan's ambition to reunite

the four Kalmuck branches into one great State led to the migration of Ayuki, with 50,000 tents, into Russian territory, and then to the conquest of Tibet by Tsevang Rabtan. The immediate reasons for this important episode were that Rabtan had forcibly incorporated Ayuki's son Sanchab's horde, with 15,000 tents, and had forbidden Ayuki himself to "boil tea" at the periodical Tibetan festivals. Meanwhile the Chinese Emperor began to grow anxious about the Buriats and Uriangkai Mongols, who were gradually being absorbed by Russia; the latter, at least, seem to have been ultimately preserved to China. Towards the end of 1705 he incidentally mentions a Russian "trading envoy's letter, written in Latin, Kalmuck, and Russian," and early in 1710 he appoints an officer to "go and manage Russian trade affairs." According to Russian accounts, caravans were sent in 1705, 1711, and 1713; but the drunkenness and riotous behaviour of those in charge resulted in the stoppage of all trade at Peking. In 1713 the Emperor K'ang-hi issues a decree announcing his latest discoveries about Russia: "Both China and Europe are north of the equator; but, whilst we speak of 'stretches,' they talk of 'degrees.' From Europe you go south 80 'degrees' to the Great Wolf Mountain (? the Cape), whence north to Canton. You can also go by land; but Russia's being between the two extremes makes that inconvenient. Russia's capital is about 12,000 li from ours. West Ocean (Europe) and T'u-r-hu-t both border on Russia. Russia depends on Turhut for horses, and Turhut on Russia for hides. Some years ago Russia and Süeh West Ocean were at war, but Turhut assisted Russia to completely defeat Süeh West Ocean."

Now, all this is very quaint and interesting. It is a fact that so early as 1705 Peter employed a number of Kalmucks in preparing the new site for St. Petersburg. Charles XII. of Sweden was defeated at Pultowa in June, 1709, and took refuge with the Turks, who defeated Peter on the Pruth in 1711; Peter was obliged to surrender Azov,

which he had taken from the Crimean Tartars in 1696. It seems quite certain that "Süeh" is intended for "Sweden," and "Turhut" for "Turkey"; for, as we shall shortly see, the word "Turgut" had uniformly been written with quite different characters. No imperial Russian envoy went to China in 1705. "Turkey" is mentioned by the Ming dynasty historians in the year 1526 under the name of Lu-mi (Roum).

In the summer of 1715, on account of Rabtan having attacked Hami, it became necessary to request the Russian officials at a certain city to prevent his followers from escaping over the frontier. The Emperor says: "When Tulishên went on his mission to the Turguts, he proceeded *via* Russia, and knows the Governor of that town. Let Tulishên go on this business." The true facts, as gathered from miscellaneous Chinese, Russian, and other sources, seem to be these: In 1711 the Turgut branch of the Kalmucks sent an envoy to Peking by way of Russia, and in 1712 Tulishên had been sent by K'ang-hi to try and induce Ayuki Khan to assist in crushing the Dzungar branch of the Kalmucks. Prince Gagarin was then Governor-General of Siberia, and he gave Tulishên a very handsome reception. Three Jesuit priests (acting as spies in the interests of China) are said to have been with the mission; which, however, was not received by Peter, who was just then busy with Swedish affairs. On its return to China, it was accompanied by Hilarion and ten other priests, who were sent to take the place of Vassily Leontyeff and others who had recently died; these priests had spiritual charge of the Albazin guards, which were kept up, at least in name, until the Boxer troubles of 1900, when most of them were massacred. Gagarin was Governor-General of other provinces besides Siberia at different times; hence some Chinese authorities in mentioning him have concluded that *ko-ko-lin* meant "Governor" in Russian. Nothing more of importance touching Russian affairs is recorded during the rest of K'ang-hi's reign; but, according

to Dr. Dudgeon, the old Emperor applied to Gagarin (probably through Tulishên) for some tonics or aphrodisiacs wherewith to revive his drooping years. (Many Chinese mandarins have made similar applications to me.) In consequence of this application, an English surgeon named Garwin, or Harvin, accompanied the Swedish engineer, Laurence Lange, on a mission to China. They left St. Petersburg on August 18, 1715, and reached Peking on November 11, 1716. The Emperor sent two Jesuits named Stumpf and Parrenin to visit the Russians, and appears to have personally busied himself with Peter's request for a Russian stove to be made out of Chinese porcelain, but there is no word of a return mission, or of the stove having ever been sent. Lange returned in 1717, but went on a second mission in 1719, along with the Scotch doctor, Bell of Antermony, who has left us such an interesting account of his travels. Or, rather, both of them accompanied Ismailoff's mission, which reached Peking on November 29, 1720, and left on March 2, 1721. So far as can be ascertained, both Lange and Ismailoff performed the *kotow*. Lange was allowed to remain as Agent or Consul—Vice-Consuls were sanctioned at other points—and arrangements were made for the regular establishment in Peking of a Russian church. K'ang-hi died early in 1722, and towards the end of that year his son and successor, the Emperor Yung-chêng, issued a decree extolling his late father's sagacity in firmly but kindly preventing Russian encroachments on Kalka territory; but absolutely nothing is said of Russian trade, missions, residents, or politics. In his declining years K'ang-hi had begun a mild persecution of the missionaries on account of the disastrous squabble with the Popes about ancestor-worship and the proper word for "God." In their distress the Jesuits had appealed for good offices both to Peter and to Charles VI., the "Roman" Emperor of Germany. Clement XI. in 1719 sent Mezzobarba to Peking, where he arrived in 1721, but the Emperor would make no concessions to him. There

are traces in the Manchu annals of Russian and Jesuit intrigues with more than one Manchu Prince at Peking about this time. Meanwhile Peter had found it necessary to hang Gagarin for conspiring with the Tartars to rob the Russian caravans he was supposed to protect. This led to a personally-conducted expedition to the Caspian by Peter "the Great," who had in 1721 accepted that title. He seems to have had on his way an interview with Ayuki Khan on the Volga, and Ayuki placed 5,000 Kalmucks at his disposal in order to punish the Usbeg powers. But the Turks of Constantinople objected to Peter's presence so near their frontiers, and he had to go back. Lange left Peking a second time in July, 1722, in which year Peter, by way of counterpoise to Tulishên's mission to Ayuki, despatched Unkovsky on a mission to Tsevang Rabtan, who was "located" in the mountains west of Kuldja, near the Khorgos River, south of the Ili River.

About February or March, 1726, an edict appears announcing that the Russians have sent envoys to delimitate the Kalka frontiers. In appointing a disgraced officer to conduct the negotiations, the Emperor says: "You may possibly regain my favour if you behave prudently, but you will get into serious trouble if you raise any quarrels with either the Russians or Tsevang Rabtan." Meanwhile the Uriangkai hunting tribes "near the frontiers of Russia and Tsevang Rabtan" were directed to keep a sharp look-out for Russian encroachments in the Upper Yenisei or Kemchik Valley, and to report any events at once. In the spring of 1727 "the envoy Sah-wa of the White Khan of Russia" presents tribute and an address. During the summer Tulishên is mentioned as being on the Russian frontier staff. This Sah-wa cannot well be other than Count Vladi-slavitch, with whom in 1726 Lange made his third voyage to Peking. Peter was now dead, and it was his relict Catherine who sent this mission. She herself died in 1727, and was succeeded by Peter II., son of Peter the Great's heir, Alexis, who had been judicially done to



death in 1718. (After this Alexis the Czar Nicholas II. has named his heir.)

In the eighth moon of 1727 the Emperor's son-in-law, the Kalka Mongol governing the frontier, reported the settlement, with Sah-wa, of the Russo-Kalka frontier, running from the Upper Argun (north of Hurun Pir) to a point near modern Kiachta. All important details are given; but as there has never been any dispute about this line, and few of the Chinese names appear on even Russian maps, I refrain from details. The Buriats and Uriangkais both signified their consent. The Chinese sent an officer with the Russian Secretary of Legation, I-fan I-fan-no-fei-ch'i (Ivan Ivanovitch), to lay down the stones as (it is presumed) they stand now. The Manchurian and Kalka authorities were strictly enjoined by the Emperor to tolerate no encroachments on the part of the Chinese, and an officer from the Colonial Board was ordered to select a site for the Kiachta market. Only 200 traders were to come at once. The Russian hotel at Peking was to be repaired for the envoys' and students' accommodation. They were to receive allowances, and had freedom to return to Russia when they chose. Towards Christmas the Russian "head-eye Lang-k'ê" (Lange) obtained permission to leave the animals of the caravan outside Kalgan to graze, on condition of his placing steady men in charge, and the Chahar Mongols were held responsible for any quarrels or thefts of Russian property; for "Russia is a small State amongst the outer vassals, and is therefore entitled to protection." According to Russian accounts, Tulishên went on a special mission to Russia in 1727, and Lange made a fourth journey to China in 1737. This was in K'ien-lung's time, during the reign of Anne, niece of Peter the Great. Nothing is said by the Chinese historians of these two alleged missions. However, in 1740 the Emperor, in addressing the Dzungar Kalmucks of Ili, says: "If your envoys come on the same dates as the Russians, it becomes less advantageous to you:

better come on the third, fourth, and eighth years of each decade to Peking, and on the first, fifth, and ninth to Suh Chou [in Kan Suh Province]."

The Emperor K'ien-lung was far and away the "smartest man" who ever sat on the Chinese throne. The Dzungar power became so threatening and insolent under Amursana that, in 1755, K'ien-lung determined to break up the whole quadruple Kalmuck organization. This brought China into close contact with a new nation styled the Kazaks (Kirghiz), whose chief, Abulai, was inclined to trim between Russia and China. Though new under that name, the Kazaks had for many centuries been known to the earlier Chinese by the name Khiakiz (Kirghiz). On this occasion the Kazak ruler endeavoured to curry favour with China by offering to capture Amursana, who subsequently escaped to Russia. The Emperor was very determined in this matter. Besides quoting the treaty rule about not harbouring any fresh deserters, he made a very strong demonstration on the Russo-Kazak frontier, and directed the Peking Board to address the Senate of Russia (founded by Peter the Great in 1711). Meanwhile, "on the eighteenth day of the sixth moon, 1757, the Russian frontier *k'a-p'ei-t'an* (captain) took off his hat and inquired after the Emperor's health. He said it was true that Amursana had sent envoys to Russia, but these had been sent on to the White Khan (Peter's daughter Elizabeth), and nothing was known of Amursana's own movements. The captain gave a written statement to this effect." On the twenty-seventh day Abulai sent to say that he had all but seen Amursana, but that Amursana got alarmed and made off, saying, "If I go to Russia, I shall be as good as a slave all my life. If the Kazaks will not take me in, then I am indeed a lost man." In the eighth moon the Emperor refused an application from Russia to convey stores by way of the Amur (which looks as though Russia wanted a *quid pro quo*). In the ninth moon the Emperor ascertained for certain that Amursana and eight attendants had escaped to Russia.

The Emperor said: "This news is confirmed by Kalmuck reports. The Russians tried to make us believe that Amursana had been drowned, but I felt sure he would have to choose between the Russian and the Kazak. Send a messenger to the Russian frontier town, and say that China has always hitherto considered Russia to be a great power, and no cheat, but that present conditions point to another conclusion." Early in 1758 the Kalka Prince reports that the Russian Pi-r-ko-ti-r (? Brigadier) has sent one Pishler, the *t'u-lê-ma-ch'i* (? *dolmetcher*, or interpreter), with an official despatch, stating that Amursana had been rescued from drowning, but that he had since died of small-pox, and that his body was on view at Kiachta. The Emperor said: "I had already informed the Senate that they were welcome to Amursana if only they would guarantee to keep him for ever. We must assume that Russia is telling the truth, and you had better go, even to Selenga city (Selenginsk), if necessary, to view the corpse. If it is a sham, then Russia will be in the wrong, and therefore to blame for any war that may take place. In any case, no one will be able to say that I have let a man's spittle dry on *my* face. The corpse must not only be seen, but must be got hold of and brought to Peking to be drawn and quartered." As a matter of fact, Amursana is well known to have died in 1757 at Tobolsk. The frontier officials declined to give up the body on the ground that no specific orders to that effect had come from the Senate; but as persons in Chinese employ were able clearly to identify the features, the Emperor wisely allowed the matter to drop. The conquest of the Dzungars opened up a very awkward Kazak question, for the Kazaks had hitherto paid tribute to the Dzungars, and it was now necessary to choose between China and Russia; the Emperor declared that he did not care much which way they inclined. Meanwhile another leading Kalmuck, named Shereng, had murdered a Manchu or Mongol officer named Tangkalu, who had been endeavouring to block Amursana's escape in the direction

of the river Irtysh. Shereng escaped to Russia; the Russians declined to give him up, and partly in consequence of this the trade at Kiachta was stopped; but the excessive duties levied by the Russians on Chinese traders also contributed to this result.

In the spring of 1759 the Emperor sent the following letter to Abulai, Abulbambid, and Abulpiz, the chiefs of the three Kazak *yus*, or divisions: "The Military Governor says you have sent a Russian named Sultung to pay respects on your behalf. A Russian despatch declares that you have belonged to Russia for some time. We have replied to Russia that, when we conquered Dzungaria, we treated the Kazaks with consideration, and not in a hectoring spirit like Russia, which always extorts oaths of allegiance and tribute; nor did we forbid the Kazaks to become part of any other State, should they so elect. This is our reply to Russia, and you are at liberty to please yourselves." Abu-lai is the Abul-khair Khan of Russian history, and "Sultung" is evidently the title of "Sultan" taken by the Russian Khirgiz.

China was now obliged to continue her conquests into Kashgaria, which had also been for a long time tributary to the Dzungars. When the *khodjo* Buran'uddin effected his escape, China naturally suspected Russia once more; but it was Badakshan who harboured the refugee this time. Towards the end of 1761 the Kalka Prince reported that a Russian *Ma-yü-r* (? Major) had announced the receipt of instructions from the "Chi-na-r *yamêu*" (? Chinese Department) to surrender over 100 Mongol refugees with their arms and horses. These Mongols had also killed some Chinese officials in Kashgaria, and they were sent to Peking for execution. In the spring of 1762 the Emperor wrote to "Shaniyas Sultung Khan" and the other two *yus* chiefs in order to boast of this, adding the vainglorious gloss: "after we had pursued the said murderers into Russia." In 1765 the Mongol superintendent at Kalgan was detected in an illicit trade in

hides with Russia. Like his erring colleague Gagarin, he was a Prince; but he, more lucky, escaped with his life. This year the Emperor was rather pleased when one of the Russian lamas, with all his tents and followers, expressed a desire to desert to China. The reason for this delight was that, Russia having refused to deliver up Shereng, China could now safely give a tit-for-tat. This year, too, the Emperor ordered a systematic survey of all the chief rivers between the boundary (*i.e.*, the Stony Hing-an Range, or Daurian watershed) and the Amur. The geographical details are interesting: roughly, the boundary ran near parallel,  $54^{\circ}$  N., to the river Zea, and thence north-east to Nikolaievsk. In 1768 the watchful Emperor discovered that the Kazaks were being utilized in order to trade off surreptitiously to China certain Russian goods. This *ballon d'essai* was at once pulled down. But a little later the Colonial Office communicated to the Russian *Kwo-mi-sa-r* (Commissary) thirteen articles under which legitimate trade might be conducted at Kiachta.

In 1770 a very important event occurred. The escaped Kalmuck murderer Shereng seems to have utilized his Russian experiences in order to persuade the 100,000 Russian Kalmucks to forsake the Volga and return to Ili. The first thing the Emperor heard of it was in the summer of 1771, when word was brought that Ubasi Khan, great-grandson of Ayuki, had actually arrived. He had secretly and suddenly left the Volga, which the Chinese call the Echil (Theophylactus' "river Til"; Haithon of Armenia's "Ethil" in 1254—*i.e.*, *etil*, "a river"), near the end of 1770 arriving in the sixth moon of 1771 at Saribel in Ili, after travelling by way of the Kazaks, Ak-kum Desert, Balkash Nor, and the Gobi Desert. Timid advisers tried to persuade the Emperor that it was all a Russian "dodge" of some sort; but K'ien-lung, whilst taking every precaution against treachery, and making careful preparations to massacre the whole nation should they play false, stuck bravely to his own opinion, which was that the Buddhistic

Kalmucks hated the Russian religion, detested the inquisitorial and rapacious Russian system, and objected to the incessant military services demanded from them, and to their Princes being treated as hostages. "The original Turguts," explains the Emperor, "who went to Russia under Ayuki rather than accept Dzungar hegemony, differed from the other Eleuths (or Kalmucks) in many ways; but Ubasi's father had already some years ago brought back 10,000 tents to the Dzungars; and, now that the Dzungars have been destroyed, Ubasi with his 80,000 or 90,000 tents naturally longs for his native land; it is a case of reverting to an old allegiance, not of accepting a new allegiance. Let us by all means forgive Shereng, if he also trusts himself in our hands; for it will be a fine revenge on Russia to decline to surrender the very man they first declined to give up to us." Only 33,000 tents, or 70,000 souls, survived the terrible journey, and they were at once presented by the Emperor with over 200,000 animals, besides tea, grain, skins, and cloth.

During the rest of K'ien-lung's reign Russian events were few: the escape and execution of Russian slaves; the stoppage and re-opening of trade in tea and rhubarb; the inspection of the frontier in such a way as not to excite Russian suspicions; etc. The old Emperor abdicated in 1796, and died in 1799, when his successor forthwith announced his intention of preserving the *status quo*, "if only Russia would also keep quiet." In 1802 the Emperor Kia-k'ing (1796-1820) gave renewed instructions to be prudent in periodically watching the frontier: "Always send word beforehand to the *Ku-pei-r-na-do-r*" (Governor). Early in 1806 some Russian ships appeared at Canton. The Viceroy and Hoppo were both censured for allowing trade there: "Kiachta is their proper sphere." (There is some reason to believe that either this or a land caravan, also this year, was a mission of some sort which was dismissed on account of some question of form. It is well known that in the autumn of 1806 two Russian men-of-war,

under Davidoff and Khwostoff, raided the Japanese settlements in Sahalien Island and the Kuriles, in order to force on trade. In the winter of 1804 a Russian ship had taken some shipwrecked Japanese to Nagasaki, but had received in return a *non possumus* when they applied for permission to trade with Japan.) In 1809 the Gubernador writes to suggest a meeting at Kiachta. The Emperor gently chides the Kalka Prince: "When the Russian Khan last time asked permission to send envoys with tribute, the Urga authorities were too unaccommodating on the *kotow* question, and the envoy was sent back. Apparently the Khan (Alexander I.) is once more anxious to send tribute. If the question be again mooted, say the Emperor permits the requested meeting, and don't be too stickling. If they are respectful, then report their presence, for they will scarcely dare to decline the *kotow* at Peking. If the suite of the mission is too large, reduce it."

In 1813 some trade squabbles are signalized between the Kazak ruler Hanbar and the Russians. The Manchu Military Governor of Ili incurred a censure on account of his excessive zeal in this matter; it appears that he summoned before him the headman of the Russian Andijans, and compelled him to pay compensation to Hanbar.—Nothing appears in the Manchu annals of Timkowski's "relief expedition" to Peking in 1821.

In 1824 a later Military Governor showed more activity than the new Emperor (1821-1850) cared about in connection with some Kazak rulers of doubtful allegiance; like his successors, Tao-kwang took as his cue: "If they ask for anything, treat them kindly; if their relations with Russia are doubtful, give them a wide birth."

In 1848 some Russian ships desirous of trading at Shanghai were sent away; the British Consul, A-li-kwo (Alcock), was invited by the local authorities to exercise a persuasive influence on the misguided Russians. "Good," says the Emperor; "always act so!" The following year some more Russian trespasses, under one Pa-lan (? Brandt),

are reported in the Kazak quarter, and it was necessary for China to write to the Russian Senate for explanations. It appears from the correspondence that both the Russian and the Chinese Kirghiz were in the habit of paying "horse-rents," by which, I suppose, "taxes on horses owned" are meant. The Senate took the opportunity to hint that "in view of the increasing population, trade at Kiachta is now insufficient; we want trade at Ili, Tarbagatai, and Kashgar too." The Emperor promptly ordered secret inquiry to be made as to how far this request could be granted. Yikshan (of Anglo-French war notoriety) was one of the officials who reported; he said there was no harm in the proposition, so far as the two first-named places were concerned, but that to open Kashgar would be inconvenient. In 1851 the reply of the Senate put quite a different complexion on the Russian trespass charges; according to the Russian account, the Chinese Ili officials had complained of robberies by Russian Kirghiz, and the Russians had now directed the Kirghiz Su-lê-t'an (Sultan) to restore 150 horses and six camels, adding: "As the Kazaks are our subjects, of course we restore property stolen by them." The Emperor winced under this unexpected turning of the tables against him, suspected his own officials of blundering and "hanky-panky," and called for fuller explanations. In reply Yikshan specified his objections to trading at Kashgar; he said: "As the Russians have for a long time been in the habit of collecting Kazak horse-rents, and making use of their animals for travelling stages; moreover, as their road to Kashgar will lie through Ili, and through the Kazaks south-west of it—it seems likely that the neighbouring Buruts (Kara-Kirghiz) and the Kazaks (Kirghiz) will soon be paying horse-rents and doing this stage duty for Russia too." He also showed that the Russian statement sent by the Senate to Peking was false, and that the "finding and surrender of the stolen horses" was only a "dodge" in order to get in the claim to ownership of the Kazaks. "All right," says the Emperor, "don't let out that we know the truth; keep



dark about it, and be very careful as to that 'compensation after Kiachta precedent' of which they seem to speak." Yikshan now sends a copy of his reply to the Russian frontier authorities: "China takes no notice of robberies of horses, etc., which may take place beyond her own frontier posts, but she will promptly punish any thefts which may take place within Chinese territory." "Capital!" says the Emperor; "and, by-the-by, is the trade at Ili and Tarbagatai to be from late spring to early winter, or how? And see that our officials in charge of it are not squeezers. I notice the Russian negotiator is firm on not granting the point of 'life for life' in murder cases, and was able to point to a Kiachta precedent in 1792, which was our own proposal. We ought never to have suggested life for life. If Russians are killed, I see you propose that the Viceroy of Shen Si and Kan Suh, should deal with the case: but surely he is too far off? Better let the Military Governor of Ili convict, and then send the prisoners to the Viceroy for execution or punishment." Meanwhile the Mongol General Shêngpao (the same who was executed about twelve years later for malversation in connection with the T'ai-p'ing rebellion) strongly recommended the strict closing of Ili and Tarbagatai trade during winter; and that, as at Kiachta, Russian women should only be allowed during the trade season, and even then only within the palisaded limits. Later on the question of taxing tea at Ili was mooted. But nothing is said of the Treaty of Kuldja of 1851, article 13 of which regulated the conditions of the Ili and Tarbagatai trade. A little later the Emperor says: "It is reported to me that the Russians have now permanently stationed their Gubernator at the north palisaded part of Kiachta. It is no business of ours; but find out the reasons for this move, keep an eye on him, and always report changes."

In the summer of 1852 it was reported that Russian troops had been observed marching eastwards on the other side of the Amur. The new Emperor (1850-1861) showed great nervousness lest the Manchu outposts watching these

movements should excite Russian susceptibilities. The matter was indeed serious, for, as is well known, Muravieff, Governor-General of East Siberia, had in 1851-1852 made an investigation of the Pacific Coast, and had ordered Nevelsky to take possession of the Amur mouth. Moreover, the surveys of Colonel Achte showed that ever since the Treaty of Nipchu in 1689 the territory between the "Stony Hing-an" boundary-line and the Amur River had remained both undefined and unoccupied by the Chinese; subject, however, to the cursory surveys which, as I have shown, were made in 1765.

In the autumn of 1853 the cloven foot of the Gubernator appears more fully: "The Military Governor says he wants to know how it is that there are no stones at the Gorbitsa boundary and near the sea-coast. The Colonial Office tells me we have no record of any. Send an officer at once to the mountains north and south of the Gorbitsa River to the eastwards, and report how the division was originally marked; also to see whether we ought to have boundary stones near the sea." This was done, but the setting up of stones was postponed till the spring of 1854. That very year the Czar, Nicholas, authorized Muravieff to sail down the Amur and open negotiations with China about the east frontier; Muravieff at once sailed from the Shilka down the whole Amur to Mariinsk, and in 1855 finally and formally took the river into Russian occupation.

Meanwhile, in the summer of 1854, the Military Governor reported that Russian men-of-war were sailing on the Amur; their explanation was: "We are going east to compete with England for possession of the islands." The timid Emperor could do nothing but enjoin watchfulness and non-interference, but the Manchu authorities at Potunā and Altchuk (near Harbin) were ordered to keep a weather-eye open. In 1855 money was sanctioned for setting up the required stones, but it seems that in the summer the question of once more postponing this work till the following spring was still under academical discussion. Meanwhile the

Russian envoy (presumably Muravieff) was waiting at the Sungari junction; so the Chinese deputies on their way from Urga and Gorbítsa were directed to assemble before the third day of the eighth month at the Amur mouth, and then meet the Russians at the Sungari junction. In the spring of 1857 a colonization project, which had been checked in 1854 by the threatened encroachments of the Russians, was once more placed on the tapis. It was proposed to cultivate about 1,500,000 (English) acres of waste land, north of Potuna, in the Hulan Valley, lying away from the customary ginseng and sable preserves: terms, a peppercorn rent, and free supplies of timber and stone, hunting and fishing.

But unlucky China was now in the throes of the Allied War. In the spring of 1858, after the English and French had "rebelled" at Canton, they proceeded to Tientsin (May 20), along with the Russians and Americans, "to frighten us." The Nanking Viceroy reported the presence of a Russian man-of-war at the Shanghai Bar. "Well, then," says the Emperor, "as the English and French will not come, there is no need to make a treaty with them. Send word to them by the Russians and Americans." Accordingly, "Russia at Tientsin puts forward the French demands," and in recognition of her efforts "she also was allowed to trade at the five ports. As to the Hêh-lung Kiang frontier, do your best at Tientsin to arrange that fairly with P'u-t'i-ya-t'ing (Count Poutiatine)." The result of this was that "pacific" Russia obtained her treaty the very first of all, on June 13, America on the 18th, England and France a few days later. But already, by the Treaty of Aigun, on May 16, the Russians had comfortably settled the Gorbítsa stone question by stipulating that from the Argun junction to the mouth the whole left bank of the Amur should be Russian, except that the hunters of Manchu blood, living on the left bank, from the river Zea south to the village of Khormolchin, were to remain for ever unmolested under Chinese protection. (After the

massacre of Blagoveschtschensk, in 1900, most of these, according to Leo Deutsch, were butchered by the Russians.) The right bank from the Argun to the Usuri junction was to belong to China, except that (says the Russian account) "beyond the Usuri junction China and Russia were to have combined rights, as now, until a frontier should be traced. Trading, in Russian and Chinese vessels only, was to be both allowed and protected on the Amur, Sungari, and Usuri." In the fifth moon we find the Chinese recording that the good offices of the Russians had been sought once more to coax over the British obstinacy upon the point of residence in Peking; but in the sixth moon (August) the French and English ships left Tientsin.

In the same month it is reported that the Acting Governor, Fei-ya-to-lo-fei-chi (? Feodorovitch), proposes that both States should henceforth cease to provide sheep and other supplies for each other's missions in future. The Emperor, evidently vaguely suspecting another devious "dodge," replies: "Say you have submitted the proposal to the Emperor, who is of opinion that it would be an unkindly act on his part to refuse supplies." Later on in the same year, there are several allusions to the compensation due to Russia for the burning of her factory at Tarbagatai; but there is nothing to show when or why this burning took place; however, it was arranged to pay up in annual instalments, partly in tea. The Chinese were evidently most anxious to get rid of the Russian troops then "demonstrating" just outside of the frontier posts.

In the early summer of 1859 it is recited that Yikshan had been instructed to prevent the Russians from navigating the Usuri if possible; but Yikshan said that, as their boats now habitually plied on the Amur, it would cause ill-feeling to stop them. The Emperor adds: "As Yikshan has lent the left bank of the Amur to the Russians, of course they cannot be prevented from navigating that and the Sungari, but we must really keep them out of the Usuri, Suifên (Vladivostock River), and San-sing (Upper

Sungari). The two first are within Kirin bounds, and are included in the area we have lent. Keep officers there to turn them back by force if they come, and point this out to them." Yikshan returns to the charge in the sixth moon with a horrible report that the Russians are actually building on the south bank just below the Usuri mouth (Khabarovsk), and also at Kukta-susu (? Susu below Khabarovsk). One K'i-sa-lo-fu (? Kysaloff) and an interpreter have also applied to survey the whole Usuri River up to its source at Lake Hing-k'ai (Khanka). "This is all owing to Yikshan having lent the left bank to Russia. Yikshan now tries to wriggle out of it by suggesting that the Military Governor of Kirin should deal with the case. Let Mu-li-fei-yo-fu (Muravieff) be instructed by the Sansing authorities that it was kind enough of us in all conscience to lend the left bank; that Kirin is the place whence we derive our ginseng and pearls, so that we cannot admit you. The Hanka Lake does not border on Russia, so you cannot survey it." Two months later the Russian surveyors of the lake are reported to have forced their way to Hunch'un (opposite Vladivostock) by water, besides building and cultivating on the Usuri banks. The Emperor says: "After I-kê-na-t'i-ye-fu's (Ignatieff) arrival at Peking, he said he was desirous of having a joint inspection of the east and west frontier lines. On the sixteenth day of this moon (August) four Russians brought an important despatch for Ignatieff *via* Tientsin. It is also said that Muravieff will soon be at Tientsin. The Military Governor must shift as he best can. We are too far off here at Peking. Try at least to stop navigation on the Usuri. Really, Yikshan is much to blame for not having headed off Muravieff when he was up there. Let all unite to drive the builders and cultivators from the south bank if possible." But the miserable Yikshan reports his failure in the attempt to delimitate; the Emperor resigns himself to the dismal prospect, and orders the two Military Governors to "arrange a new treaty with Russia."

In the seventh moon the Shan-hai Kwan authorities report the presence of Russian ships there, manned by Chinese, and masquerading as English. No one had been allowed to purchase food or to trade. "Ignatieff, questioned about this, replies that most decidedly no Russian ships ever make use of English flags, and all Russian ships have standing instructions to visit open treaty ports only. He encloses specimens of the flags of different nations, which must be at once sent on to Shan-hai Kwan."

During the spring of 1860 the Manchu authorities were occupied in rescuing as many Orochons, Kumars, Pilars, and other Tungusic hunting tribes as they possibly could, from contact with the Russians, and in the eleventh moon an officer was sent from Peking to Kirin to assist the Military Governor in defining the frontier. The actual delimitation was not completed for another seven months, and full geographical particulars, with details of the Russian "tries-on," are given. The Tsung-li Yamên, just then established, was ordered to take cognizance. All this is evidently in connection with the Treaty of Peking, concluded by Count Ignatieff in November, 1860, and—to use the Russian words of 1899—"defining the Manchu frontier as it now is from north to east." Of course, the investment and convention of Peking and the flight of the Emperor in October, 1860, had given Russia further opportunities for putting the screw on *avec sagesse*.

No sooner was China rid of this business than the Tarbagatai questions pop up again. The Military Governor of Uliassutai was despatched thither in the spring to assist the local administration. During the summer the Emperor learns for the first time that the Kirghiz ruler, Altan Shala, and his son, had gone over to Russia, and that it was necessary to communicate on this point with the West Si-pi-r yamên (the Governor-General of Western Siberia). The frontier delimitation had been fixed for the thirteenth day of the fourth moon of the twelfth year; but the Emperor Hien-fêng never saw a twelfth year; he died

on the seventeenth day of the sixth moon (August 21) of his eleventh year, and the next Emperor did not finally adopt a reign style until November 7. During this interval the Russian envoy at Peking seems to have tried to compete with the English and French for favour with China by offering to present her with guns and cannon. During the ninth moon some of them arrived at Kiachta in charge of an expert named Fei-li-pien-kwo (? Filipinkoff). Of 2,000 muskets and six guns actually received there, nearly all were sent on to Peking, only a few being retained for local use. But it seems to have been a case of *do ut des*. In the eleventh moon illicit Russian trading with Urga was reported, besides surreptitious attempts to rent houses in the immediate neighbourhood of the Cheptsun-tamba Saints' palace, etc. "The Russians themselves proposed to give us guns and rifles," say the Regents in the child Emperor's name; "we never asked for them. If the Consul at Urga shows any shiftiness about the balance, it will be more dignified for us to let the matter drop."

Early in 1862 more Russian trespasses, thefts of straw, etc., are reported from Hurun Pir (near the source of the Argun). But on the credit side of the Russians it is gratefully noted that some Russian soldiers fought during the third moon under the brave American adventurer Ward at the Battle of Wang-kia Sz (April 3). Later on some Russian gunboats offered their services at Shanghai. In the fifth moon a report comes that the *obos*, or frontier cairns, have been duly erected on the north and south frontiers of Tarbagatai Province. With regard to the Kirghiz ruler, Altan Shala, and his son, the Russians claim them as subjects, and assert that they are entitled to be styled "Sultan." However, "on hunting up the archives of 1860, we find that in 1855-1856 Altan Shala twice sent his son Tchakhal Ahmed with horses, and according to the translated Mussulman letter he brought then, he styled himself 'Khan.' Moreover, he brought with him his father's hereditary Chinese patent to exhibit. Hence,"

say the Regents, "it is clear that in 1855-1856 Altan Shala still regarded himself as our Kazak Khan. How, then, is it possible for Russia to claim that so far back as 1738 Abulai Khan swore allegiance to her? The Russian despatch now received says Russia does not in the least mind if he calls himself a Khan when he goes to China. When he goes back to Russia he will be treated, as usual, like a kinsman. If this is really so, then Altan Shala need not be counted a Khan of ours any more, and we need not insist on his son Chotan inheriting the title. Let our Kazaks elect another. But, as a matter of fact, are you sure Altan Shala knows what the Russians are telling us? Is it not a pure Russian invention?" In the seventh moon a report is received from the Military Governor of Ili, stating that Altan Shala has been living for a long time in Russia now, and that he is like "a rat furtively looking both ways." The *K'wang-su-lêh* (Consul) mandarin Tsha-lao (? Zakharoff) has been establishing various pickets around Nimar and Shala-tologai, interfering with our patrols, and claiming all the Kazaks and Buruts there as his. There have also been robberies of cattle at Orkot-chul. The Regents say: "We must ask the Russian Minister about Zakharoff's strange behaviour. Try and find out what Russia is driving at. We know she has long coveted the Kazak and Burut land, and no doubt Altan Shala is privy to it all. See that another man is elected to be our Kazak Khan." In the eighth moon a report arrives that the Russians have been clandestinely erecting seventeen *obos* at Moto-Barluk (? Manitu) and two other places beyond our pickets to the south of Tarbagatai, "but that the envoy (? Russian Commissary) had agreed to have them pulled up, as also others similarly set down to the north of Tarbagatai." Later on a report comes that Ili territory has been invaded by a party of armed Russians, Kazaks, and Buruts. "The lakes of Temud Nor and Dzaisang Nor are certainly within our Ili-Tarbagatai bounds, and if we give these up to the Russians we shall also be abandoning



several old picket posts to them; moreover, the spot invaded is only thirty [English] miles from our Solon and Sibé camps, and scarcely half that distance from Tarbagatai." Finally, an uncanny report comes that a number of Russian Kazaks and Buruts near our frontier posts have applied to be given pasture-lands in China, as the Russian administration is found to be too harassing. "The Military Governor tempted them with presents in order to test their feelings, and found they were much more eager for this transfer to them of our property than for a transfer by them of their allegiance to us." The Regents at once suspected another Russian "dodge" to get them into *our* territory, and then claim *our* territory because *their* Kazaks and Buruts were there! Or possibly Russia wished to raise deserter questions. "Quite right to send them back. See that *all* go back, but don't be too harsh about it, in case the poor fellows really *do* want to come back to us." There are various other frontier points contested. The Treaty of Tchuguchak (Tarbagatai) was not concluded until 1864; the Land Trade Treaty of February 20, 1862, was for some reason abandoned.

Towards the end of 1862 a captured prisoner reports what is going on in Kokand (see *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of January, 1899, for Kokand affairs up to 1861). Malla Beg (of Tashkend) had been murdered, and his brother (his cousin Shah Murad) Shah Mu-la-t had been elected, who, however, had soon resigned in favour of Khudayar (of Khokand). But the Hi-p'i-ch'a-k and Burut (Kipchaks and Kara-Kirghiz), aided by Ai-lien-mu K'u-r (the Usbeg Alim-kul), were contesting Khudayar's claims. The hand of Russia was suspected to be in these intrigues.—The Chinese were not far wrong, for Tchernaiëff took Khokand in 1864, leaving Khudayar unmolested in charge, until his flight to Tashkend in 1875.

In consequence of certain extortions at Urga, the Kiachta tea-trade regulations were now put on a more satisfactory basis. The Chinese were suspicious of Russia's motives in

offering further naval assistance against the T'ai-p'ing rebels, and after some discussion with M. Popoff it was arranged that their men-of-war should not go farther up the river than Chinkiang. Zakharoff continued to exhibit bad temper in connection with the western frontier negotiations, but the "Tangnu, the Uriangkai, the Mongols, and the Kazaks were all delighted at China's firmness in not handing them over to the Russians." China remitted the compensation fees due from the Tarbagatai Eleuths in lieu of cattle taxes, and in the east the plans for colonizing Tsitsihar were approved.

In the spring of 1863 the Governor-General of Western Siberia made desperate efforts to intimidate China into accepting Zakharoff's views, but the Regents remained firm, more especially in view of the Mussulman rebellion which was now breaking out in Shen Si, and which, as we know, led to the rise of Yakub Beg, and Russia's temporary occupation of Ili. Meanwhile the Tarbagatai Mussulmans were carefully conciliated. In the summer a force of 400 Russians with guns and muskets was signalled near Tarbagatai and Baktu, "evidently bent on encroachment." The Military Governor had at once complained to the Governor-General of Western Siberia. Several thousand Russians were also reported at Dzaisang Nor, building, cultivating, and calling upon the local Kirghiz to submit. The Emperor ordered a close watch to be kept.

I have not yet examined the voluminous documents covering the period 1863-1874, but I may perhaps give their purport in a short supplementary paper.

## THE PROGRESS OF THE PANJĀB.

BY SIR W. MACKWORTH YOUNG, K.C.S.I.\*

## INTRODUCTION.

THE progress of the Panjāb during the past decade is the subject of this paper. I must make a selection if I would avoid wearying you or obscuring the points of greatest interest, and my object in such selection will be to exhibit any important new departure or development, always bearing in mind that what this Association wants to know is how far we are dealing with our great trust in the East so as to serve the interests and welfare of its inhabitants. If my remarks appear fragmentary, I would ask you to admit the difficulty of being comprehensive within the limits of our time.

## SEPARATION OF THE FRONTIER.

It seems natural that I should begin with the great territorial change, the separation of the frontier, which, after years of discussion between the Indian and home Governments, was carried out by Lord Curzon, with the approval of the Secretary of State, in November, 1901, shortly before I left the province. I refrain from saying anything in regard to the desirability or otherwise of the change, or of the manner in which it was effected. Nor shall I attempt on this occasion any justification of the administration of the frontier by the Panjāb Government during the concluding chapters of its authority. That history will, I hope, be written, both because it is full of interest and instruction, and because Lord Curzon's minute embodying his proposals, which was, perhaps, somewhat unfortunately given to the world, contained an indictment against the successive rulers and administrators of the Panjāb which has little foundation in the facts of the case. When these facts are fully given, a just judgment will no doubt be formed on them. I will not anticipate the verdict which

\* Paper read at a meeting of the East India Association on December 13, 1904. For discussion, see elsewhere in this number.

will then be passed, but I must say a few words about the slice of territory which, after having been administered for fifty-two years as part of the Panjāb, and having shared its fortunes and its gradual growth, has now been handed over to an officer whose primary duty will be that of Warden of the Indian North-West Frontier. This aspect of the question has not received much attention. It is one which is fraught with anxiety, and will require to be carefully watched.

THE NEW PROVINCE TOO SMALL FOR AN ADMINISTRATIVE UNIT.

The tract which has been separated from the Panjāb to form the new province comprises the whole of the Peshawar, Hazara, and Kohat Districts, and the Trans-Indus Tahsils of the Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan Districts, with the exception of thirty-three villages of the latter, transferred to the Dera Ghazi Khan District. In respect of total area, cultivated area, land revenue, and population, this tract is less than one-tenth of the Panjāb, and is far smaller than any other separate administration with a service of its own; it forms, in fact, a miniature province, and as such will be very difficult to manage properly. It is an axiom of our rule in India that the machine of the administration cannot be efficiently run on a very small scale. We have hitherto recognised this principle in the construction of our provinces. The amalgamation of Oudh with the North-West Provinces in 1877 was due to its recognition. The separation of Assam from Bengal in 1874 was a precedent in the other direction. But the small size of the Assam administration has been a source of some difficulty, though Assam is three times as large as the North-West Frontier Province, and another partition of Bengal is now contemplated which will still further enlarge it. The only way of enlarging the new Frontier Province is to annex more of the tribal territory, which so far is deprecated, I am glad to say, by all authorities.

## TRIBAL TERRITORY WILL OCCUPY TOO MUCH ATTENTION.

The political charge which, in addition to this diminutive administration, vests in the same officer extends over all the neighbouring tribes lying between the British and Afghan borders. The degree of interference with these tribes varies greatly, according to circumstances. With the more distant and inaccessible we have little to do so long as they abstain from raiding. With some, especially those which frequent British territory and have relations with our own subjects, we are called upon to exercise from time to time a quasi-jurisdiction, though the methods of British administration cannot always be used as the basis of such interference. The tract over which this political authority is exercised is twice as large as the fragment of British territory with which it is associated, though it consists mainly of barren and stony hills, and has a very meagre population. But this political charge will be the most anxious part of the duties of the new administration, and, in the eyes of the Foreign Office, the most important; and I have not the least expectation that the internal administration of the segregated districts will be so carefully maintained as when they formed part of the provincial organization.

## SMALLNESS OF THE CADRE.

The difficulty of properly recruiting and maintaining so small a service is another real obstacle. The new Commission employed in the administration of the North-West Frontier Province consists of twenty-seven members only. These officers have been brought upon the graded list of the Political Department of the Government of India; but that department has no training-ground for administrative experience, and cannot supply it otherwise than by systematically drawing upon other provinces. It is, indeed, contemplated to draw largely upon the Panjab for filling up special appointments in the new province; but such an arrangement is objectionable for a permanence, and has

been found impossible in other cases. The difficulty of maintaining a standard of efficiency in the staff of the new province will not be acute for some years, as Lord Curzon has taken from the Provincial Commission able junior officers for the important posts, passing over all the generation of frontier officers who seemed by their standing and services to be marked out for them, and securing thereby continuity of administration for some years; but as the generation of officers who have been reared in the Panjāb, and have learnt their frontier experience under the shadow of a thoroughly supervised provincial organization, passes away, this drawback will become apparent.

#### CONCLUSION.

I think it is inevitable that there should be some down-grading in the standard of administration of the districts which have lost their connection with the Panjāb, and this cannot but be matter of regret to those who have watched their gradual pacification and development under British rule. Viewed solely as an administrative measure, affecting British subjects, the separation of the frontier has been the greatest mistake of the past decade.

#### THE MERITS OF THE CASE HAVE NEVER BEEN DISCUSSED.

Whether there was any political necessity for the change will always be a debatable question, and there is no object to be gained in threshing it out now. No Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjāb has ever been invited to offer an opinion on the subject, and the only call for information regarding the manner in which the Panjāb Government had discharged its duties in this respect, which resulted in Sir Lepel Griffin's famous Memorandum of 1876, was couched in a form which precluded any discussion of the merits of the system under which the Panjāb Government had administered frontier affairs. There is plenty to be said on this subject, and, as I have already remarked, I cannot help hoping that some day it may be said.

## NATIVE STATES.

From the Frontier Question I pass to the Native States, which are subject to the political control of the Panjāb Government. Twenty-eight per cent. of the area of the Panjāb and its dependencies, and 18 per cent. of its population, pertain to the thirty-four States, varying in size and importance from the principalities of Patiala and Bahāwalpur, with areas of 5,400 and 20,000 square miles, and populations of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  million and  $\frac{3}{4}$  million, and ruled by chiefs subject only to the most general supervision, to the tiny state of Darkuti, with an area of 8 square miles and a total population of 518 souls, whose ruler is independent in little more than name.

## PERSONALITY AND TRAINING OF RULERS.

Looking back over the last decade, it must be admitted that, though there have been fine specimens of native administrators, such as the late Raja Shamsheer Parkash of Nahan, and the present chief of Nabha, Raja Hira Singh, we have not succeeded as yet in establishing a high personal standard among the rulers of Native States, though there have been several long minorities, which have afforded a full opportunity for trying our own system of training and education. The difficulty consists in the transitional state of native feeling and development. If we leave a minor chief to be educated under the directions of the State authorities, he will be turned out at the age of eighteen with much notion of dignity, with much regard for the traditions and old families of the State, and with some prospect of carrying on, in the old grooves, the time-honoured system of administration and customs. But the march of ideas, even in Native States, has been of late years so rapid that it is almost impossible for native Ministers of a past generation to equip the young chief with the necessary qualities for keeping straight when he gets his head; and, in the second place, self-interest is so strong and intrigue so common among the hereditary

officials of a Native State that they are the worst people to bring him up. In a Native State there is no family in the wholesome atmosphere of which the young chief can be disciplined and trained, with the help of tutors, under control of the head of the family; so if the Government does not make the chief its ward, he will rarely have any disinterested and capable guardian. Hence it has come about that the British Government has generally accepted the position of being responsible for the training of a minor chief, and in the more important States has appointed tutors, or governors, or guardians, for their education and preparation. But here the danger has been recognised of so far separating the minor chief from his family and from the circle of his future Ministers and dependents as to alienate him from his State, and disincline him to accept the responsibilities connected with it when he comes of age. And so, in appointing a guardian or tutor, native or European, the Government has been careful to impress upon him that the chief should be kept in touch with the hereditary officials and people of the State, and that the tutor should accommodate himself so far as possible to their ideas in carrying out his charge.

#### CASE OF THE PHULKIAN STATES.

Such is the position which the Government in most cases has assumed with regard to a minor chief's training and education. But until recently there has been a tendency in the case of the Phulkian States of Patiala, Jind, and Nabha, for the Government to devolve its responsibility in this matter to the Council of Regency, which, under the terms of the requests made in 1858 by the Phulkian chiefs, and granted by Lord Canning, administers these States during a minority. The tutor was regarded as subordinate to the Council of Regency, and direct communication between him and the Government was not recognised. He was never able to insist upon anything to which the Council were opposed. His plans were at any time liable



to be upset by the Council, and to the young chief he appeared to be their servant and subject to their orders. Hence the standard of discipline was never really higher than that conceived by the Council, and a very indifferent one it was. Now, there is nothing in the paper of requests about the training and education of a minor chief, and nothing to preclude the Government from assuming full responsibility for them, and this principle was with the concurrence of the Government of India fully asserted in 1897, and is now acted upon. From this measure I cannot but think much benefit will result as regards the personnel of some of the most important chiefs under the political control of the Panjāb Government. The very best men available should be selected as tutors in these cases, for a minority presents unique opportunities for an elevation of the standard of Government in Native States.

#### POLITICAL AGENT OF PHULKIAN STATES.

Another important step in regard to the political relations of the Sikh States with the Panjāb Government has been the appointment of a Political Agent for the Phulkian brotherhood of Patiala, Jind and Nabha. The functions of such an Agent from the annexation of the Panjāb to the year 1870 were performed by the Commissioner of Ambāla. In the latter year, as a consequence of some complications, these States were brought into direct political relation with the Panjāb Government. The experience of thirty years has fully established the necessity for a reversion to the system of closer contact with the chiefs than could be maintained by the Local Government, and a more personal influence over their proceedings. Especially is such a change necessary in cases of a chief's minority, in view of the more direct responsibility for his training assumed by the Government, as already explained. The measure was carried out in 1901 with the full concurrence of the Panjāb Government. I confess I should have been disposed personally to exempt the fine old Chief of Nabha from the

arrangement during his lifetime, but I believe he has, with his usual loyalty, cordially accepted the situation, and that the change has already been accompanied with the best possible results in all three States.

PROPOSAL TO REMOVE THEM FROM THE POLITICAL CONTROL  
OF THE PANJĀB GOVERNMENT.

In connection with this subject, however, there was a further proposal which, I venture to think, would have most unfortunate consequences—to place the Political Agent under the orders of the Foreign Office, and so remove the three States from the political control of the Panjāb Government.

OBJECTIONS TO THIS PROPOSAL.

Though the execution of this proposal has been postponed, it may be revived at any time, and I therefore think it worth while to note the arguments against it.

(1) HISTORICAL.

The historical argument is the least important, though it is anything but unimportant. The connection with the Panjāb Government has existed since annexation, and during that connection the States have never wavered in their loyalty to the British Government. They rendered conspicuous service in the Mutiny, for which they received liberal rewards, and they have to such an extent imbibed the provincial feeling, and partaken in the provincial progress, that they have become part and parcel of the province as an Imperial unit.

(2) RACIAL AND RELIGIOUS.

The argument from race and religion is stronger. The Phulkian chiefs are Jats of the great Sidhu Barar clan, which is prevalent in adjoining British districts. They are regarded by the Sikhs of the province as their racial heads. The Sikh community, the importance of which is

not to be gauged by its numbers, has 586,000 of its members—more than one-fourth of the whole—in the Sikh States. Amritsar is the Mecca of the whole Sikh community. To cut asunder the ties which unite the Local Government with the Phulkian chiefs would be to deprive the Lieutenant-Governor of a most valuable source of influence over the  $1\frac{1}{2}$  millions of Sikhs within his charge, comprising the most important military element and one of the best agricultural agencies in the province; and, on the other hand, would weaken the hold of the British Government on the Sikh States, and introduce a dual control into the management of a sect possessing marked features and requiring uniform treatment.

### (3) GEOGRAPHICAL.

Stronger still is the geographical objection to the separation. The territories of the Phulkian chiefs and of the adjoining Panjāb districts are curiously intermingled. Thirty-six estates of the Mahraj Ilaka of the Ferozepore District are completely surrounded by native territory. Villages of the Ludhiana District are scattered in the most extraordinary way among the States; forty-two estates of that district are divided into twelve separate blocks, hemmed in by native territory. Several of these blocks consist of a single village. Five blocks, embracing thirty-four Patiala estates, are included in the boundaries of the Ludhiana District. In the Ambāla District there are two small groups of Patiala villages, and, similarly, there are Ambāla villages enveloped by Patiala territory. The Karnal District has some thirty estates scattered among Phulkian villages, and several of them are only a mile or two distant from Patiala. The Budhlada Ilaka of Hissar, which is mostly held in jagir by the Sardar of Siddhuwal, is an island surrounded by Jind and Patiala territory. This remarkable interlacing of jurisdiction involves serious administrative complications. The irrigation from the Western Jamna and Sirhind Canals, as well as from the Ghaggar and

Sarusati streams, gives rise to frequent differences between the villages of the States and of the British Government, requiring prompt adjustment, and this can only be secured by the authority of the Local Government acting through its Irrigation Department. Excise arrangements require an amount of co-operation between Panjāb officers and those of the States which it would be much more difficult to obtain if, in cases of disagreement, an appeal lay to the Government of India. Police efficiency, nowhere more urgently required than on the boundaries of British and State territory, would suffer grievously by the lengthening of the chain of ultimate authority.

#### CONCLUSION.

If the attempt to sever the Phulkian States from the political control of the Panjāb Government is ever renewed, I earnestly hope that these considerations, which might be amplified to any extent, will not be lost sight of. The measure would result in constant friction and disorganization, as anyone having the slightest acquaintance with the actual facts will testify.

#### THE IMPERIAL IDEA.

While upon the subject of Native States, I wish to say a few words on the growth of the Imperial idea. Lord Lytton's pageant in 1877 evoked some criticisms at the time, but few will now dispute the wisdom of the policy represented by it. It was the embodiment of an ideal exactly suited to the circumstances. The relations of the native chiefs to the paramount power have been by this most happy object-lesson affirmed and defined without opposition or offence. The structure of which the foundation was then laid has grown by degrees into a stately edifice, proclaiming the unity of our Indian Empire on the basis of a good understanding with its principalities. The accession of the King was a fitting occasion for a further illustration of this most important fact, and a further develop-

ment of its consequences, and attacks on Lord Curzon in respect of his Darbār betray ignorance of the great problem of British Rule in India.

#### THE IMPERIAL SERVICE TROOPS.

Again, an important stone in the Imperial temple has been the creation of the Imperial Service contingents. This was another happy inspiration, seizing upon the palpable facts of the situation, and identifying the great Native States with the Imperial interests with marvellous fitness and success. Lord Dufferin's great measure was previous to the past decade, but its development belongs to our period, as it is only of recent years that the Imperial Service troops have taken their place in the first line of Imperial warfare; and the Native States of the Panjāb, which were foremost to accept the duty of furnishing troops for the defence of the Empire, have by this means found the opportunity of reviving their martial ardour, which was becoming atrophied through disuse, and of rendering services to the British Crown at once honourable to themselves and useful to the Empire. Infertuous expenditure on undisciplined militia has been abandoned for the maintenance of a reduced number of troops, many of whom will bear comparison with the flower of our native army, and a generous rivalry has taken the place of contempt on the one hand, and jealousy on the other. The Tirah campaign of 1897-1898 attests their valour, and their discipline is scarcely less conspicuous. This confederacy for Imperial defence is fraught with the most important results. Nothing will contribute more to the consolidation of the Empire if the policy is worked with tact and sympathy. Hitherto the attitude of the Panjāb States in regard to this matter has been wholly satisfactory. There are no more loyal chiefs than those who have political relations with the Panjāb Government, and these relations have been further cemented by the service thus undertaken by them.

## COMMISSIONS IN THE ARMY FOR NATIVE GENTLEMEN.

And as a result of this federation of the Native States for purposes of Imperial defence, another step has now at length been taken by Lord Curzon—a step often recommended by successive Lieutenant-Governors of the Panjāb, and eagerly desired by its noble families: I allude to the grant of commissions in the army to cadets of good family belonging to the fighting races. The circumspection needed in admitting Indians to an important share in the government of the country is also needed in opening out to them positions of authority in the army, but it is no more necessary in the one than in the other to exclude them entirely, and the concession is one which will be cordially appreciated by the fighting tribes of the Panjāb.

## THE AITCHISON COLLEGE.

A few words here about the chiefs' college at Lahore will not be out of place. That college is doing extremely well. It has not filled quite the same place as the Mayo college at Ajmir or the Raj-Kumār College in Kattiāwar. The number of ruling chiefs in the Panjāb is not sufficient to justify its being exclusively reserved for them, and so other youths of good family, but not tinged with the purple, have been admitted. But there are sufficient facilities for differentiating between the status of the different classes, and the present Nawab of Bahāwalpur was educated there, a house being specially constructed in the precincts for his accommodation at the expense of the State. I believe that this college has a great future before it.

## ABOLITION OF THE GOVERNOR.

I am concerned to learn that among the changes which Lord Curzon is introducing is the abolition of the Governor, and the committal of the final executive authority to an educationalist. I do not think the Panjāb is ripe for this change. It has been greatly to the advantage of the

college in its early years to have at its head a retired officer of Government fully acquainted with the feelings and customs of the chiefs, whose services, owing to his being a Government pensioner, have been secured for a very moderate amount of remuneration considering his position and experience. Nothing has contributed so much to establish confidence in the institution during this period of its growth, and the foresight of its founder, Sir C. Aitchison, in devising its constitution has already been amply justified. It will be hard to find the necessary qualifications in anyone who has had no political experience. A Chester Macnaghten would no doubt succeed in time, but such men are hard to find, and at the present stage of education among Panjāb chiefs, a Principal of even his calibre would need a considerable time to enlist the confidence of the chiefs, and acquire the instinct whereby their prejudices may be met and their objections overcome. I hope that the change may still be averted, or, if it is carried out, that some means will be found of associating with the college the experience which is so essential to its welfare.

#### DESCENT OF JAGIRS.

Before speaking of measures affecting the mass of the people, I wish to allude to one other subject bearing upon the condition of the Panjāb aristocracy. The grants in perpetuity of assignments of land revenue made or confirmed to the principal Panjab Jagirdars after annexation and up to the year 1859 may be divided into three classes.

I. Those in the portions of the old Delhi and Hissar Divisions which were formerly under the Government of the North-West Provinces.

II. The Jagirs of the Cis-Satlaj territory.

III. Those of the Panjāb proper.

Those of the first class were transferable by sale, gift, or otherwise under the provisions of Clause 15 of Regula-

tion XXXVI. of 1803. The revenue assignment of this regulation was an estate independent of Government. No attempt was made to preserve any trace of the circumstances of its origin, or to attach its holder for the time being to the British Government by means of any feudal relation. The idea of service, if ever contemplated, was lost, and subdivision of the property among numerous heirs has caused deterioration of the family status, and consequent loss of all advantage to the State from the relinquishment of its claim.

The Cis-Satlaj jagirs were the remnants of the actual sovereignty originally enjoyed by the ancestors of the Jagirdars at the time when the protection of the British Government was extended to the territory situated between the dominions of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and our own frontier. Their origin was the same as that of the Phulkian States. That they were not recognised by us as States was due partly to their weakness, partly to their number. Had not circumstances led to the extinction of their political powers, their impartible character would have been preserved as in the case of the Phulkians. As it was, Government reserved the right to lay down rules regarding succession and other matters. The principle upon which such rules were based was that of customary right and usage. But, unfortunately, though power to alienate was withheld, it was presumed that such usage would in most respects conform to the customary law of private property. And the Delhi precedent was at hand to confirm this view. So in course of time these jagirs came to be partitioned like landed property.

In regard to the third class, though by right of conquest the British Government acquired absolute authority in regard to all such jagirs (and as a matter of fact every grant made was declared to be a free gift of the British Government, which might have imposed any rule of succession it pleased), the precedent of the Cis-Satlaj Jagirs was in the main followed. The right of succession was confined to



direct male heirs of the grantee, but no order of devolution amongst the descendants of the grant *inter se* was prescribed. The matter was left for settlement according to the customary law of the land. Here, too, therefore, the subdivision of jagirs has in most cases been freely taking place.

#### SUBDIVISION OF JAGIRS.

As long ago as 1860 the evils which might be expected from this subdivision were foreseen by Lord Canning. "It is," he wrote, "politically desirable that primogeniture should be encouraged. The Governor-General believes that a more unfortunate prospect cannot be before a people—especially a people among whom society is of a feudal form—than that of the gradual dissolution of all their wealthy and influential families into numerous poor and proud descendants. His Excellency also believes that the task of governing such a people in contentment becomes more and more difficult as this change progresses." These remarks refer to an order which had been passed in the previous November by the Government of India, ruling that all assignments granted in perpetuity after that date should descend integrally to a single heir. And it was Lord Canning's wish that the same principle should be extended to existing grants, but it was considered that the opportunity for prescribing such a principle was past, and that the rule of primogeniture could only be introduced with the consent of the holder. An attempt was made to act upon this basis, but it failed, except in a few cases, mainly because the consent of the actual holder could not bind the reversioners. And for forty years there was little to stay the subdivision of perpetual jagirs and deterioration of the status of Jagirdars. In some jagirs the process has gone so far that some of the existing shares are less than one rupee each. One hundred and twenty-nine jagirs, with an annual revenue of five lakhs, originally held by single persons, are now shared by 9,943 assignees.

## ACT OF LEGISLATURE.

To stay this process of subdivision, an Act was passed by the Panjāb Legislative Council in 1900 offering to existing holders some inducements to accept the rule of primogeniture for their jagirs, and making their assent sufficient authority for the change. It is much to be hoped that this measure may have some effect in checking the process of disintegration. I could have wished it were possible to take a stronger line, and assert the right of Government even at this late stage to impose a rule which would have commended itself to the people and been in every sense beneficial. But it was held that legal and equitable considerations precluded this course, and the principle affirmed in the Act is the utmost that could be done. Owing to the cutting down of the Annual Report, I am unable to ascertain what has been done under the Act since 1900; but the matter will not be lost sight of by the authorities, and some good results are sure to be obtained.

## THE PANJĀB LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

As I have mentioned the Panjāb Legislative Council, I will say a few words here on this new and important feature of provincial progress, as well as on the legislation of the last ten years. The Provincial Legislative Council was established in 1897, thirty-six years after the passing of the Indian Councils Act, which distinctly contemplated the establishment of a Local Legislature, but left the time to the Governor-General in Council. It was mainly due to the strong opinion recorded in 1891 by our chairman that I found myself called upon to preside at the first meeting of the Council eight months after I had taken over charge of the office of Lieutenant-Governor. Sir James Lyall's reasons for his recommendation were : (1) That there was a general feeling among the educated classes in favour of the measure ; (2) that a free discussion of the measures of Government, especially in regard to financial matters, would

be politic and useful ; and (3) that provincial legislation, of which there was considerable need, would be promoted. The last of these anticipations has certainly been realized. It has been found a much simpler business to get the Government of India to agree to the passing of a measure by the Local Legislature than to prevail upon it to pass the measure itself, and already several Acts have been brought on to the Statute-Book which may be expected to have a beneficial effect. In addition to the Descent of Jagirs Act, to which I have alluded, the following are among the measures which have been passed.

#### REVIEW OF ACTS PASSED.

The Panjāb Riverain Boundaries Act provides the means for introducing a system of fixed boundaries between estates subject to river action, in regard to which that most perplexing rule of following the deep stream had become a stereotyped source of never-ending confusion and litigation. The Act has already been brought into force on several of the Panjāb rivers, to the immense advantage of the riverside agricultural population.

The Panjāb Land Preservation Act provides the means of doing whatever is still possible in the direction of limiting and repairing the damage done by our old enemy the Hoshiārpur Cho, who for many years had worked his wicked will on the fertile sub-Himalayan district of that name. For the benefit of the uninitiated, I had better explain that the Cho is a sandy torrent which brings down from the Siwaliks a detritus of sand sufficient to devastate huge areas of cultivation, and has flooded the public offices of the province with almost an equal amount of unproductive literature.

Another measure of provincial importance is the Sind Sagar Doāb Colonization Act, designed to facilitate the acquisition by Government of large tracts of waste land formerly held to be of little value to the State, but which, in view of the unparalleled success of the Chenāb coloniza-

tion, have now to be reckoned as an important factor in the scheme for a canal from the Indus, the last and largest of the great irrigation works of the Panjāb. We did not know, when this waste was parcelled out to the sparse village communities of the Great Thull, which forms the Doāb between the Indus and the Jhelum, how important it was to preserve the title of the State in these lands, with a view to settling immigrants from the densely populated tracts on the great canal of the future. We did not even know whether the Panjāb agriculturist would consent to be transported wholesale from his own village to "pastures new." When the Indus Canal comes to be made, this small piece of legislation undertaken in the second year of the Provincial Council will be fully appreciated. Without its aid the construction of the canal could not have been contemplated at all in the near future.

The Act for the Registration of Transport Animals, which was introduced in 1902, and has been passed since I left the province, is designed to mitigate the hardship resulting from the requisitions of the State for carriage in times of military preparation, by regularizing and systematizing those requisitions. No one who has any experience of the needs of the State on the one hand, and the inconvenience experienced by the people on the other, in regard to the impressment of carriage in the Panjāb, will fail to welcome this attempt to grapple with a difficulty which has too long been allowed to drift.

Now, these measures, each of them, I venture to think, in the highest degree conducive to the welfare of the people of the Panjāb, all passed the Legislative Council during the first five years of its existence. Though I am not prepared to say that none of them would have been passed had there been no Local Legislature, they have been greatly facilitated by its constitution, and they may be taken as an earnest of the benefit that will result in future years from its labours.

## RIGHT OF INTERPELLATION.

The right of interpellation has for the present been withheld. I hope it may be conceded before long. The Panjāb is more ready for it than it was five years ago. The native press shows growing intelligence and good feeling, though the standard of press criticism is not such as one would be willing to introduce into Council debates. There is nothing more important in the political life of a province than a sound, healthy, strong public opinion, if only it be genuine, and there is nothing more wholesome for our Indian bureaucracies than that they should have to face criticism. There is more to be feared from undue postponement of the privilege than from its premature inception, and I am inclined to think that the time has perhaps come when it may be safely conferred.

## ALIENATION OF LAND ACT.

The most important Act of the Imperial Legislature affecting the Panjāb which has been placed on the Statute-Book during the past decade is the Panjāb Land Alienation Act of 1900. If it is a success, the whole credit must rest with the Government of India, from whom it originated, for the Panjāb proposals for dealing with the matter were set aside, and the more drastic measure imposed from above. It is early as yet to judge of its working. The reports for the first two years show a considerable decrease in transfers, accompanied by a sensible contraction of the agriculturists' credit and decrease in the price of land.

## OBJECTIONS.

I hope the measure may do good, but I am not a convert to it for the following reasons : First and foremost, because the thrifty agriculturists who constitute the great majority have held their own without it, and increased in prosperity. The legislation which has been undertaken in the interests of the few, and those few the less sturdy of our land-holders, interferes with the liberty and self-reliance of the robust

agriculturist. The wealth and the credit of the latter is impaired, and will suffer serious diminution in the future. This will not fit in with the inelasticity of our revenue demand, and the revenue-payers' need for cash when seasons fail or cattle die. The political danger of land transfers has been, I think, exaggerated. The expropriated owners generally remained upon the land as tenants at will, and the picture sometimes drawn of such men wandering about in search of employment is an imaginary one. The expenditure of capital on the land will suffer a considerable check. The agriculture of the province will *pro tanto* become impoverished, and, as always happens when man is hampered by restrictions which appear to him unnecessary and unreasonable, he will do his best to evade them, and will probably succeed. I do not like the measure, and do not believe in it. If I am mistaken, and the welfare of the Panjāb peasant is promoted by the Act, no one will more heartily rejoice than myself. But I much fear that in the long-run it will work to his disadvantage.

#### THE PEOPLE.

Now for a few words about the people generally. I shall include the New Frontier Province in the remarks which follow, because until quite recently it has been part of the Panjāb ; at the same time I shall exclude the Native States, because they are much less subject to the influences which we are specially considering.

#### POPULATION.

The population in British territory, according to the census of 1901, had increased by  $7\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. during the previous decade. The total increase since annexation amounts to 48 per cent. Of the entire population, 57 per cent. are agricultural. This constitutes a majority, so we may consider them first. The condition of the Indian agriculturist is a much-controverted theme, and, so far as I know, there is but one reliable test of that condition.

## AGRICULTURE.

If agriculture is a good business, if it can be made to pay, the condition of the agriculturist must be described as solvent, though there may be bad exceptions. If it is so good a business that people who have not embarked in it are extremely desirous of doing so, and those who have embarked in it are extremely desirous of extending their interest in it, then the position of the agriculturist must be described as very good. Now, two things are universally acknowledged as regards Panjāb agriculture : one is, that there is an earth-hunger among all classes which has become proverbial ; and the other is that the price of land has steadily risen since annexation from about twenty years' purchase of the land revenue to eighty-nine years' purchase, or more than fourfold. It will hardly be denied, in view of this remarkable fact, that agriculture in the Panjāb is a very good business, and that the Panjāb assessments have been in fact, as has been always claimed for them, extremely moderate. But this, of course, is a different thing from saying that all who are connected with agriculture are in "prosperous circumstances." The profits may go into the pockets of one class, and that class may not be the most deserving.

## DENSITY OF RURAL POPULATION.

The high price of land may be, and undoubtedly is in many cases, due to the density of the population dependent upon it, and when we find that the density of the rural population is for the whole Panjāb 455 per square mile of cultivated area, and that for the districts of the Jallandar Doāb and old Amritsar Division it ranges from 659 to 815 per square mile, as compared with a density for the same districts twenty years ago ranging from 555 to 738 per square mile, the seriousness of the problems arising from the increase of the population at once makes itself felt.

## ENTERPRISE OF PANJABIS.

Fortunately, the enterprise of the Panjābi and his readiness to emigrate comes here to his aid. Several years ago I found, in touring in the Taran Taran Tahsil of the Amritsar District, that in the course of one year four lakhs of rupees, equal to the whole revenue demand of the Tahsil, had been remitted by soldiers and policemen and others on foreign service in China, the Straits, Africa, and elsewhere, through the Tahsil post-offices to their homes. This spirit of enterprise has been invaluable in connection with the grand schemes of colonization which constitute the principal feature of Panjāb administration during the past ten years. On these I must now say a few words.

## COLONIZATION.

Until the construction of the Sidhnai Canal from the Ravi, in the Multan District, in 1886, the Government had no experience as to the possibility of a colonization scheme. Whether the Panjāb cultivator would leave his homestead, and bring his cattle and his family to new lands newly irrigated, was a problem. At one time the Sidhnai project seemed to flag, but it eventually proved a success, and the immigrants settled down comfortably and prospered. With a good hope of success, but amid some misgivings, the great Chenāb scheme was launched. In the Rechna Doāb, a tract of 4,420 square miles, consisting of soil of excellent quality, which, owing to deficient rainfall, was practically unculturable, and provided scanty grazing for the herds of a few thousand nomads, there now exists a Panjāb in miniature, with 792,000 sturdy souls gathered from the best cultivators of the province, whose paternal acres have been too narrow for them, and who have accepted their transplantation with the utmost complaisance. The success of the Jhelum project is in course of realization. Two other tracts remain for conquest by the Irrigation Department: the lower portion of the Bari Doāb, and the Sindh



Sagar Doāb, of which I have already spoken. I cannot resist the temptation of giving the following brief statement of facts, though it goes back before the period we are considering.

#### IRRIGATION STATISTICS.

The area irrigated from canals under the control of the Irrigation Department has been, in round numbers, as follows :

In 1864-65	...	...	...	650,000 acres.
„ 1874-75	...	...	...	1,200,000 „
„ 1884-85	...	...	...	1,600,000 „
„ 1894-95	...	...	...	2,700,000 „
„ 1902-03	...	...	...	5,680,000 „

The capital account has increased during this period from 150 lakhs to 1,034 lakhs, and the value of the annual produce, at a rough estimate, from 162 lakhs to 1,500 lakhs. Produce of the value of nearly 9 millions sterling has thus been added to the annual wealth of the country owing to the operations of the Panjāb Irrigation Department during the past thirty-eight years. The area of irrigation has more than doubled during the last eight years, for which I have been able to obtain figures ; and to this I am able to add two important facts : first, that the density of population in the sub-Himalayan districts of Sialkot, Gurdaspur, Hashiārpur, and Ambāla, from which colonists were mainly taken for the Chenāb colonization, has actually fallen between the years 1891 and 1901 ; and, second, that the extension of cultivation generally during this period has more than kept pace with the growth of the population. The latter was, as I have stated,  $7\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. ; cultivation during the same period increased  $7\frac{1}{8}$  per cent. With extensive areas still to be colonized, the outlook of the rural population of the Panjāb is, I think, hopeful. At all events, the record of progress in respect of what has been done for them seems a creditable one.

## TOWNS.

The urban population are less interesting, but perhaps not less important. It is from the towns that all movements tending towards moral or social progress take their rise. The strength of the country lies in the villages, but the brains to use it are city-bred. There is no general movement of the population to the towns, though there is a perceptible movement towards the large cities. Amritsar and Lahore both show an increase of 18 per cent. in the decade, and Delhi of 9 per cent. Multan, Peshāwar, Rawal Pindi, and Siālkot, show increases from 15 to 31 per cent. The population on the whole of towns of 20,000 to 100,000 inhabitants has been stationary, though the previous decade showed an increase of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. The population of small towns, which showed a decrease of 8 per cent. between 1881 and 1891, shows a further decrease of nearly 1 per cent. in the last decade. It is not difficult to account for this.

## TRADE AND INDUSTRIES.

Many of the small country towns have been left on one side by the railways, and have lost their through trade, which has been diverted to centres on the line of rail. Recent years have witnessed a great development in mill industries. The old hand industries are being gradually killed by the introduction of steam-power and establishment of factories at the great centres of trade. I see that Mr. Rose, in his Census Report, says that, in competition with village industries, the factory system is at present making but little headway, and that the latter will die hard; but he admits that it is inevitable that industries will be gradually concentrated more and more in the large towns and cities.

## WATER-POWER.

One of the great needs of the Panjāb at the present time is the application of the water-power available in the rivers

and canals for commercial purposes. Mysore has shown us how this is to be done, and I hope and believe that similar enterprise will soon be shown in a province possessing all the facilities for its application.

#### SELF-GOVERNMENT IN TOWNS.

It is also in the towns that the lesson of self-government is being slowly and surely learnt. Party feeling and faction are for the most part giving way to a common interest and to public spirit. It is remarkable that not one of the large cities of the Panjāb has been seriously attacked by plague, and this is very probably due, under Providence, to the sanitary improvements which have been made in recent years. The appointment of a sanitary engineer (in 1902) is likely to promote further efficiency and activity in this direction.

#### EDUCATION.

It is, moreover, in the towns that we are beginning to see the results of fifty years of educational progress. These results, as evidenced by statistics, are sufficiently startling. For three consecutive periods of five years each, ending with 1898, the numbers of graduates in arts from the province were 101, 196, and 562. And the last report gives 249 as the outturn of B.A.'s for one year only, so the rate of progress seems likely to be maintained. At the beginning of the decade there were two technical schools in the province, both at Lahore; there are now, besides these, industrial schools for boys at Amritsar, Delhi, and Ludhiāna, and for girls at Gujrāt; a Hindu Technical Institute at Lahore; clerical and commercial classes at Amritsar, Ludhiāna, Hoshiārpur, and Rawal Pindi; an engineering class at Lahore, and industrial classes at Clarkabad, Ludhiāna and Lahore. The increase of literary societies is one of the most remarkable indications of the spread of education; Anjumans, Sabhas and Samajes abound. Most of the colleges have literary or debating societies of their own. In the Central Training

College there is a Shakespeare Society, and three colleges have their respective graduates or old students' associations.

#### ATHLETICS.

The development of athletics would greatly strike anyone who had not seen the Panjāb for twenty years. The cricket and football and hockey teams of the Lahore colleges are composed of fine, stalwart young men, beflannelled and booted like English public school-boys, and with thews and muscles in no way inferior to theirs. This infusion of manliness into the curriculum is priceless. It gives new possibilities to the educational development, which had begun to loom like a Frankenstein's monster, whose imperious and distorted demands almost caused us to shrink from the work of our hands and fear that we had made a gigantic mistake. In the good feeling and fellowship, the generous appreciation and wholesome rivalry, the discipline and courage called out by the practice of manly sports among the rising youth of the Panjāb, lies a cure for much of the indigestion resulting from the startling change of diet offered by our educational system. And this has begun to make itself felt in the professions and services.

#### EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS.

Coupled with much higher academical standards for entering the professions, we find a more wholesome moral tone, more public spirit, more loyalty to the Government, in their ranks. It is true that ancient landmarks and restraints are being removed, and no one can say what will be the outcome of the unsettlement which was inevitable from the contact of East and West, of the supple Indian and the dogmatic European; but two things are certain: first, that our policy has been entirely disinterested, and, secondly, that it was our simple duty. We have opened our stores of knowledge to all comers, we have put into the hands of the people weapons which may be used

against ourselves; but no other course than that of freely extending what we had to give could ever have found favour with men reared under the shadow of British Empire and enlightenment.

#### FEELING OF PEOPLE.

And this, I believe, is recognised by the thinking portion of the Panjāb races, which was never more genuinely attached to British rule than at the present time. Of the multitudes who are inarticulate, and who are more affected by what immediately touches their own comfort than by higher considerations, I cannot venture to speak with much confidence. But for one subject I should have little hesitation in saying that they are fully convinced of our good intentions. That subject is plague.

If any proof were needed of the difficulty of our position in India, it would be found at once in the attitude of the people towards our plague policy. Our measures for warding off or fighting that fell disease are quite as distasteful to the common people as were in former times the suppression of *sati* or female infanticide. In this analogy I recognise an element of hope. What was then regarded as high-handed action and undue interference with religion and caste is now a large asset to our credit. The most adverse critics of our rule bestow ungrudging admiration on our courage in repressing such barbarism, and in time it will be recognised that the Government played a noble part when it strained every nerve to grapple with plague, only to encounter opposition and obloquy. I think myself it was a mistake to make the doctrine of non-interference of such general application when the people threw us off. It was with mortification that I received the mandate of "hands off" in the Panjāb at a time when our measures were undoubtedly being worked with a large degree of success, and since the people have had their own way, and the bill of mortality reached a maximum of 40,000 in a single week, there are indications that the people are beginning to

lament the policy of helpless inactivity, and to blame Government for yielding to a childish clamour. At all events, I have no doubt that in the Panjāb the ordeal will result ultimately in cementing, not in weakening, the ties between the Government and the people.

#### FAMINE POLICY.

I will close this already too long paper by a mention of the policy which more than any other act of the British Government has won the hearts of the people of the Panjāb, and, I believe, of India generally—I mean the policy pursued by the State in dealing with famine. That policy may be briefly described as a determination not to allow a single soul in time of famine to die of starvation, and to employ the whole resources of the State so far as may be necessary to secure this end. It is a noble policy which has been slowly framed, deliberately announced, and persistently followed, during the recent famines. And with a wondering surprise the Panjāb peasant has waked to the fact that the Government, whose normal function it is to be relentless and exacting, possesses a strain of compassion of the existence of which he never dreamed. For a time he marvelled if it could be true, and could hardly believe his ears; then came another piece of intelligence, which was no less astounding, that the heart of England and America had been opened to his sufferings, and that, with the full assent of Government, their generosity had taken the shape of replacing the bullocks which had died in the drought, or relieving the respectable poor of his village. The truth sank into his heart that the great Government cared for him at least as much as for the revenue which he was unable to pay, and that England's Queen and people were his friends. And when the news of the Queen's death was passed over the land, the outburst of grief which came from millions of throats in India was the spontaneous tribute of as many hearts to the beneficence of the last great act done in her name—the relief of the famine-stricken in their

necessity. It was the translation into official language of the great law of love, the lever which moves the world, of which some idea had dawned on the minds of the people from the self-sacrificing labours of Christian missionaries, but of which there had never before been so vivid an exemplification in the proceedings of the Government; and in the Panjāb it has done more to attach the hearts of the people to the Crown than half a century of beneficent government, of which England may well be proud, and which constitutes in the eyes of her rivals one of the most undeniable proofs of her greatness.

## PROGRESS AND PROSPERITY IN MYSORE.

BY SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.

THE genius of Lord Lytton, ill-appreciated and misunderstood even by many of his friends during his lifetime, has left enduring results in India, the value and importance of which become more and more apparent as time rolls on. We owe to him—of course aided by many fellow-workers—our methods of famine administration, which are the admiration of the world. We owe to him the security of our Indian frontier, that has enabled us, on many occasions of late years—and never more than during recent events—to treat with the utmost equanimity the threats and bluster of the Anglophobe press of Russia. And we owe to him, jointly with his friend and colleague the late Lord Salisbury, the highly satisfactory condition of the relations between the supreme Government of India and the great feudatories of the Empire, exemplified, better than anywhere else, in the progress and prosperity of the typical State of Mysore under the rule of the dynasty that was restored to it by Lord Lytton's own act.

Last year, on the important occasion of the first annual meeting of the Mysore Representative Assembly under the auspices of the recently-installed successor to the throne of Mysore, the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* drew the attention of its readers to the happy circumstances of this model State, the benign character of the rule of the young Maharaja—who is closely following in the footsteps of my old friend his illustrious father—and the able administration of his Dewan, Sir P. N. Krishna Murti. No part of India had suffered more from the ravages both of famine and of pestilence—indeed, it was only in the preceding year, 1902, that the meeting of the Representative Assembly had been indefinitely postponed, owing to the severity of the plague—and yet His Highness the Maharaja, when addressing the representatives for the first time in October, 1903, was able



to congratulate them, and the country at large, on the general success which had attended his efforts, and those of his Minister, to combat these dire enemies. And the Dewan, in his address, after calling attention to the remarkable assiduity with which the young Maharaja had personally taken on himself a large share in the active administration of his State, was able to unfold a tale of prosperity, of financial stability, and of moral and material progress, that would have delighted Lord Lytton's heart if he had lived to hear it, and that must have been eminently gratifying to Lord Curzon and to every well-wisher of India.

During the past year Mysore has sustained a heavy loss in the retirement of Sir Donald Robertson, the able and experienced Resident, who has done so much for the State. But happily Sir Donald's place is admirably filled by one of the ablest and most distinguished civilians of the younger generation in the person of my old and valued friend Sir James Bourdillon.

Now another year has passed, and it is not too much to say that the address of the Dewan, and the subsequent discussions in the Representative Assembly, are even more encouraging than last year, and reflect no less credit on the young ruler, who has inherited such great responsibilities with his great heritage, and on the Government of Mysore.

Whilst the high administrative standard of the past has been well maintained in every department of the State, the reforms and improvements foreshadowed last year are already bearing fruit, and further advances in the path of enlightened progress are being made, and are sympathetically treated of in the address of the Dewan.

Last year the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* spoke of the administration of Mysore as "an object-lesson in Indian government." It is interesting to note in passing that attention is being paid to this object-lesson in various other parts of India, with every promise of valuable results. Down South, in the important State of Travancore, the Maharaja has instituted an annual popular gathering on

the model of the Mysore Representative Assembly, which held its first meeting on October 22 last. The social system of Travancore is based on somewhat more conservative lines than that of Mysore; but notwithstanding a good many initial difficulties, the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly of Travancore has met at Trivandrum, and seems to have justified the Maharaja's hopes. I doubt not that in years to come, when its members have attained more experience, it will serve the same useful purpose—that of bringing the Prince and his official advisers into closer touch with the people of his State—that has long been served by the Representative Assembly of Mysore.

This year, as last year, the Dewan laid much stress, in his address, on the active part that the Maharaja of Mysore most usefully takes in the actual work of the State. During the twelve months His Highness personally dealt with no fewer than 1,100 separate cases, or files, of State administration. He takes extended tours through the rural districts, so as personally to know, and become known to, large numbers to whom otherwise his personality would be little more than *nominis umbra*. As the Dewan aptly observed, the affectionate regard in which the Royal Family of Mysore is held by the Mysoreans was shown last year by the genuine anxiety manifested everywhere during the serious illness of the Maharaja's brother, the young Yuvaraja, at Ajmere, and by the genuine outburst of popular joy which attended his recovery and return to Mysore.

Under the Dewan's fostering care the finances of the State continue to improve, even on the high standard of last year. The revenues derived from the gold-mines, as also those from the Cauvery Falls electric power enterprise, have continued to increase in the most gratifying manner, showing a net improvement of over six lakhs, notwithstanding great liberality of administration. In every direction, and under almost every head, the elasticity of the resources of the State is shown to be greater than even the Dewan's own most sanguine forecasts.

And the benefits flowing from this happy financial condition are shown by the Dewan to be threefold. In the first place, it confirms and justifies the Dewan in the cautious financial policy that has produced this prosperity ; in the second place, it permits of a sensible remission of the burdens imposed on the subjects ; and, thirdly, it enables the Dewan to continue and extend those valuable schemes of technical education and of industrial and agricultural reforms and improvements with which his name will always be associated.

One interesting remission of taxation that will be very popular in the Mulnaad districts of Shimoga and Kadur—the latter district is commonly known as the coffee-planting district—was referred to in the Dewan's address of last year, and was this year discussed at length both in the Dewan's address and in the subsequent speeches of the planting and other members. It relates to the old excise-tax of twelve annas levied on every maund of areca-nut produced in the State. A revenue amounting to something like four lakhs per annum, almost entirely derived from these two districts, has been drawn from this source—and this, of course, is in addition to the ordinary land revenue, the assessment of which in Shimoga and Kadur is on an average about Rs. 14 per acre. The two taxes taken together form a very heavy impost of something like Rs. 25 per acre on the lands planted with betel-nut. Moreover, the procedure for collecting this excise is, and must be from the very nature of the case, distinctly annoying and vexatious, for there is necessarily Government interference at almost every stage of the production. Thus, the village officials must be present when the fruits are cut. They must come again to watch the peeling, again for the boiling, again for the drying. All these occasions may obviously afford opportunities for mischievous interference, for oppression, and for corruption. The Dewan, himself an hereditary Mysore noble, is fortunately able to appreciate the mischief of such a state of things, and to sympathize with those who are annoyed and made to suffer by it ; and though the

sacrifice of revenue involved in the total abolition of this supari tax is so large as to make it a matter of very serious difficulty, the remarks of the Dewan (which are printed at p. 8 of the address) show that he is determined to deal with it without further delay.

The agricultural experiments and improvements introduced by the Dewan are shown to be producing most excellent results in numerous directions. Practical agriculture is now efficiently taught in the Normal School at Mysore. Model farms, as object-lessons for the raiyats, are being established on selected holdings in each taluk, the principle being that of private enterprise supported and guided by the Government. The farmers of these model farms are aided by the Deputy Commissioners in procuring the best and most suitable seeds, manures, and implements, and receive the help of the scientific officers of the Government—European experts, as the agricultural chemist, the cryptogamic botanist, and others. Classes of students in agricultural chemical analysis, in bacteriology, and in other developments of modern applied science, have been set up by the Government. And in the actual cultivation and improvement of numerous important products—rubber, coffee, sugar-cane, sweet potatoes, ground-nuts, cotton, and castor—the Government of Mysore has shown a spirit of philanthropic energy and of far-sighted enterprise that is worthy of all praise.

Many of these admirable reforms and improvements would hardly be known beyond the limits of the Mysore State, but for the publicity afforded by the annual meeting of the Representative Assembly and the annual address of the Dewan. Not the least valuable results of these meetings of statesmen and practical men of business—so much better than mere academic conferences—may perhaps be found to be in this very publicity; for, as we have already seen in the case of Travancore, the admirable example of the Mysore Government may in this way be communicated to every part of India.

## THE POSSIBILITIES OF THE INDIAN TOBACCO INDUSTRY.\*

BY T. DURANT BEIGHTON, L.C.S. (RETIRED).

SINCE I have been connected with the East India Association I have noticed that one principle almost invariably characterizes the papers read and the discussions which take place at its meetings, and it is this : the main object is not to awaken a merely academic interest, but to ensure a practical result, whether it be the redress of some legitimate grievance of our Indian fellow-subjects, or the removal of some obstacle to the prosperity of an Indian craft or industry. The title of the present paper shows, I trust, that I am endeavouring to act upon this principle.

I must explain that I have no special claim to discuss the prospects of this industry arising from expert knowledge, or any practical acquaintance with tobacco-growing. I have written, to use the current phrase, from the point of view of "the man in the street," and, however empirical and even erroneous my arguments and suggestions may be, I shall be fully satisfied if I can direct public attention, and especially that of experts, to the latent possibilities of the trade. I have studied the available statistics, and have been struck by the fact that, notwithstanding improvement in some directions, the Indian tobacco trade is still in its infancy, is not materially increasing its operations, and is still ineffectually struggling in the markets of the United Kingdom, and even in its own markets, with imported tobacco from foreign countries. An interesting and suggestive paper was read before the East India Association not long ago by Mr. Frank Birdwood, which dealt at large with the problem of attracting English capital into India in order to exploit her industries. I propose to discuss this question as regards the industry I have selected, and to

\* For discussion on this paper see Report of the "Proceedings of the East India Association" elsewhere in this *Review*.

consider what practical steps can be taken to induce English capitalists to embark in the trade. I shall also endeavour to show that Indian tobacco labours under certain fiscal disabilities that must be removed or ameliorated before any improvement in the outlook can be expected. In the present essay I confine myself mainly to those varieties of manufactured and unmanufactured tobacco which are suitable for Europeans and others of European habits. It would be beyond the scope of this paper to devote any space to those numerous forms and preparations of tobacco which are used by the masses in India, and which have no mercantile value in Western markets, or, indeed, beyond the confines of the Indian bazaar. Neither have I dealt with the intercoastal traffic of India and Burma, nor with exports to other Asiatic countries which lie outside the limits of my subject. I must add, that I should not have ventured to publish the present article had I not supplemented the sources of knowledge contained in Government reports and other literary materials by facts which I have ascertained from those engaged in the trade, and who have practical experience of many of the details discussed. I take this opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to Messrs. Spencer and Co., Oakes and Co., Bewlay and Co., and other firms, for valuable information which I could have obtained in no other way.

The tables on pp. 84 and 85 show (1) the tobacco trade of India with the United Kingdom, and (2) the entire tobacco trade of India for the years 1899-1900 to 1903-1904.

These figures will be considered hereafter, but at the outset a few general observations are desirable on the main elements of successful tobacco-growing. On this branch of the subject I have been much indebted to an article published in the *Journal of the Society of Arts* for 1896, by Mr. C. Tripp, on the tobacco industry of Sumatra, which has been extraordinarily successful, and the large profits earned by the various companies in that island have

naturally led to an inquiry why, with almost similar natural advantages, the tobacco industry of India lags so far behind. A comparison of the methods respectively pursued in two countries which possess a climate and soil almost identical cannot fail to be instructive. The three essentials for success are suitable soil and climate, and skilled labour. Where these three special factors co-exist, the finest tobacco can be produced, and these conditions are all satisfied in the Deli and Langkat districts of Sumatra. A few details of the Sumatran planter's methods may fittingly find a place in this paper, if only to point a contrast. Only one tobacco

THE TOBACCO TRADE OF INDIA, 1899-1904.

		1899-1900.	1900-1901.	1901-1902.	1902-1903.	1903-1904.
Exports :						
Unmanufactured	lbs.	8,337,285	5,493,318	18,615,915	14,574,961	11,368,011
Cigars ...	lbs.	759,333	812,882	1,298,876	974,495	783,447
Other sorts ...	lbs.	239,797	256,589	284,974	229,009	247,774
Total ...	lbs.	9,336,415	6,562,789	20,199,765	15,778,465	12,399,232
Value ...	Rs.	1,817,895	1,549,101	3,468,999	2,733,259	2,096,704
Imports :						
Unmanufactured	lbs.	832,672	513,839	927,011	505,191	—
Cigars ...	lbs.	142,596	60,157	78,826	84,666	108,073
Cigarettes ...	lbs.	195,217*	1,165,399	1,510,287	1,724,050	2,240,179
Other sorts ...	lbs.	2,219,093	2,008,614	1,900,564	1,885,803	1,787,854
Total ...	lbs.	3,389,578	3,748,009	4,416,688	4,199,710	4,694,132
Value ...	Rs.	3,339,625	3,804,760	4,502,359	4,465,211	4,969,076
Total exports and imports	Rs.	5,157,510	5,353,861	7,971,358	7,198,470	7,065,780

crop is grown on a particular piece of land every seven years, and to this a grain crop succeeds, which, in the opinion of experts, restores to the soil certain conditions which are essential to the growth of the plant. After this the ground is re-afforested. Avoiding the technicalities inseparable from any description of the chemical properties of the suitable soil, the climate required is a warm, humid temperature, with regular seasons of sunshine and rain. Now, it is beyond question that the climate of many parts

\* From January, 1900.

of India fulfils these conditions. It is equally certain that soil exists in India capable of producing tobacco of excellent quality, in some respects almost as good as the finest Sumatran growths. These facts are amply demonstrated by inquiries and experiments set on foot by the Indian Government at various times, to which I shall refer later on. But

THE TOBACCO TRADE OF INDIA WITH THE UNITED KINGDOM,  
1899-1903.\*

	1899-1900.	1900-1901.	1901-1902.	1902-1903.
<b>Exports to the United Kingdom :</b>				
Unmanufactured ... lbs.	2,338	664	8,932	19,611
Cigars from—				
Bombay ... lbs.	29,357	25,701	44,485	30,252
Madras ... lbs.	57,740	136,027	93,223	104,577
Bengal ... lbs.	35,652	65,299	42,224	40,046
Burma ... lbs.	10,377	11,599	13,166	14,928
Other sorts ... lbs.	1,613	1,845	200	33
Total ... lbs.	134,895	241,016	194,396	191,527
Value ... £	29,483	48,809	38,110	37,465
<b>Imports from the United Kingdom :</b>				
Unmanufactured ... lbs.	68,788	61,441	39,588	40,544
Cigars ... lbs.	1,953	2,359	3,006	9,990
Manufactured ... lbs.	256,975	177,943	213,472	199,380
Cigarettes ... lbs.	—	—	15	1,857
Other sorts ... lbs.	68,977	104,258	76,410	17,045
Manufactured Cavendish, etc., into—				
Bombay ... lbs.	160,966	200,076	277,857	336,916
Madras ... lbs.	417,134	274,946	175,396	157,386
Bengal ... lbs.	582,423	550,204	514,621	523,498
Burma ... lbs.	90,150	44,354	116,593	100,333
Total ... lbs.	1,469,581	1,261,212	1,263,920	1,258,037
Value ... £	115,883	110,596	118,932	118,619
Total exports and im- ports ... £	145,366	159,405	157,042	156,084

the success of the Sumatran as compared with the Indian tobacco grower depends to a large extent on his satisfactory solution of the skilled labour problem. It has been recognised that to ensure the best results the planting and curing operations must remain under the direct and minute supervision of experts. In these estates the European planter and his assistants, who direct and instruct the

\* The separate figures for 1903-1904 are not available.



labourers, are held responsible for the selection and preparation of the soil, the sowing of the seed, and the still more delicate operations of sorting, fermenting, and preparing the tobacco for the European market. The manual and mechanical labour is also brought to a high point of efficiency, and until recently was entirely in the hands of Chinamen, imported to perform the whole of the subordinate work of cultivation and manufacture. The Chinaman is found to be docile, tractable, and submissive to authority, while physically he possesses a muscular vigour and endurance, and, above all, perseverance, which are lacking in the Javanese, whose labour turned out a costly failure. A still more important element than the nationality of the coolie is the method of co-operation which is adopted on these estates—a system said to exist nowhere else in the world. Immediately on the Chinaman contracting to serve a particular estate a cash advance is given to him, which, I may incidently observe, often disappears in one night's gambling. He then settles down to a year's hard work. Each coolie is allotted a plot  $1\frac{1}{2}$  acres in extent. In the dry season he lops the branches of the trees, piles them up and sets fire to them, the ashes constituting a valuable manure. Then follow the stages of hoeing, planting, topping, reaping, and gathering. During all this time the Chinaman is furnished with cash advances, which are placed to the debit of his account, and the tobacco raised under European supervision is bought from him at prices varying from one to eight dollars, according to quality, for 1,000 plants. The balance at his credit is paid to him. This system of co-operation or payment by results gives him a vital pecuniary interest in the quality of his work, and secures results unattainable when the labourer is paid fixed wages irrespective of the out-turn or or quality of the crop. It is however an interesting and suggestive fact that Klings from Kalingapatam in Madras have been of late years employed with satisfactory results, thus proving once for all that Indian coolies when subjected

to European control are just as capable of disciplined work as Chinamen. No better means could be adopted of correcting the vicious methods of the unassisted Indian cultivator described on p. 91 than that of engaging the services of these well-instructed Indians upon the tobacco plantations of Southern India.

The tobacco industry commenced in 1864 with 50 bales, which realized £330. In 1874 13,000 bales produced £237,000. In the next decade the number of bales had increased to 125,000, realizing £2,295,000; and in 1894 to 192,000, yielding no less than £3,000,000 gross profit. The figures for 1903 show a crop of 254,168 bales, valued at £3,118,000.

The net profits of tobacco-planting, where all the conditions are as favourable as in Sumatra, and where the estates are well managed, are very great. Some of the companies, especially those which conduct operations on a large scale—a point on which I wish to lay emphasis—in some cases with capital amounting to £250,000, pay as much as 50 per cent. to 100 per cent. dividends. To sum up, the Sumatran industry has pre-eminent advantages in soil and climate, in its system of supervision of native labour both in the fields and in the curing-house, a supply of the best-equipped coolies in the world, and a sympathetic alliance between capital and labour, which promotes both efficiency and perseverance. Thus, that indispensable agency to the success of all mercantile operations, the introduction of capital on a large scale, is assured, with the astonishing success above specified. Consultations with some of the principal tobacco importers in London have led me to the conclusion that on all the oldest and best-managed estates the system above described exists at the present day, with such results that the best grades of Sumatra tobacco now fetch a higher price in the Amsterdam market than any other imported tobacco.

Is not this an object-lesson from which India has much to learn? The slow growth and arrested development of

the trade in India is in pointed contrast to the thriving and growing industries of Sumatra and Borneo, where similar methods are practised. But though the soil of India can, perhaps, never produce the fine wrapper leaf of Sumatra, the improvement in the only branch of the industry which has established itself in European markets—for the export of leaf to Europe is hardly worth considering—that of Trichinopoly cigars, is recognised by all who have resided for long in the East; and a still greater advance may be expected with the advent of fresh capital and more European supervision. Those who have read the article on Indian tobacco in the *Anglo-Indian Review* for January, 1904, may perhaps think I am overstating the case. The writer speaks of the “large proportions” of the industry in South India, of the twenty-four factories in existence, and of the excellent system adopted in Messrs. Spencer and Co.’s Dindigul factory. The last directory for India shows only thirteen factories in existence, all but one or two in native hands; and I have it on the indisputable authority of importers in London, that the methods employed in the majority of these so-called factories render successful tobacco-planting an impossibility. Any optimistic feeling that may exist as to the future of Indian tobacco under present conditions will be entirely dispelled by a brief comparison between the value of the exports of Indian cigars to European markets and the imports of foreign tobacco into India, shown on p. 85.

How different from the careful and skilful manipulation of the leaf which is carried out in Sumatra are the means adopted by the unsupervised tobacco-growers of India may be gleaned from many treatises and Government reports. As regards labour, if the introduction of the hard-working and persevering Chinaman is not to be recommended, a system of payment by piece-work for tobacco cultivated under European management, which is, in fact, already partly in force in one at least of the factories owned by the English firms in South India, might, one would think, be

adopted more generally and on a larger scale, with similarly happy results to those obtained in Sumatra.

Mr. O'Connor, one of the highest authorities on the subject, in his "Report on the Production of Tobacco in India" (1873), remarks in his general summary (p. 89): "The truth is that Indian tobacco is so badly prepared that English dealers will not look at it. There are many parts of India where tobacco can be and is produced at least equal naturally to other Asiatic tobaccos, but no attention has been given to the improvement of its quality by careful cultivation and preparation; and as long as there is no demand for Indian tobacco in the European market, so long may we expect to find India produce nothing superior to the coarse, rank, ill-flavoured tobacco for which it has already acquired an unfortunate reputation." Except with regard to the production of Trichinopoly cigars, these remarks are as true to-day as when they were written thirty years ago. The improvement in the cigars of Southern India commences, I believe, from 1885, when the Sumatra leaf was first utilized for the covering of Indian cigars. The Sumatra cover is almost tasteless, and this modifies and corrects the stronger Indian growth which forms the filler of the cigar. It is, however, the fact that it is not indispensable, and many Indian cigars are still manufactured under the old system with a native wrapper.

It was not until 1897 that working at tables according to the American and English methods was introduced into one or two factories. All experts, however, agree that the Indian cigar is capable of still further improvement. Much injury is, it should be observed, however, caused to the Indian cigar trade in England by the sale in London of cigars manufactured in India by native merchants in which, by the neglect of the most ordinary precautions, fermentation has taken place after the cigars have been rolled. Such specimens have been shown to me, and the aroma is quite unmistakable when compared with that of

a good Indian cigar. Unfortunately the brands of Indian cigars are so little understood by the English public that mouldy cigars of this kind are often bought by mistake for the genuine article, and the victim of the imposition naturally makes no further experiment in Indian tobacco.

There is, it is believed, an area of at least 5,000,000 acres of land in India capable of growing tobacco, and at least a probability that much of this is suitable for tobacco of the superior varieties. This fact at once places India in a favourable position for competing with countries where the area is limited, and consequently the land available for growing tobacco has to be used repeatedly for the same crop. No matter what scientific precautions are taken to recuperate the exhausted soil, virgin land, if otherwise suitable, will always produce tobacco of a finer quality than seasoned soil, however heavily manured. I am assured on indisputable authority that the famous tobacco plantations of the world which produce brands of cigars that have once been the delight of the epicure are deteriorating year by year.

The best proof of what virgin soil can do—and by this I mean land where the rank undergrowth of centuries has been burned, and the land tilled and sown—is the amazing story of North Borneo. Darvel Bay was unheard of until 1885 when the tobacco exports were worth £8,000. In 1891 they had increased in value to £350,000.

One variety of such soil, the rich alluvial deposits thrown up in the beds of the great rivers of India owing to the constant shifting of the channel, afford a unique opportunity for the cultivation of tobacco under conditions which can be found nowhere else in the world. According to Sir W. Hunter, the alluvial islands in the Godáveri River are already utilized for tobacco, and the produce is manufactured into Cocanada cigars.

But the natives of India, when left to themselves, are fully 100 years behind the practice of modern tobacco culture in other countries. Mr. O'Connor summarizes the

prevalent defects in a passage too long for quotation. I may, however, instance the cutting down of every plant in the field without reserving one for seed ; the neglect of manure, for tobacco is the most exhausting of crops, which requires not only the heaviest but the most carefully devised system of manuring that modern agricultural science can teach ; the continual impoverishment of land by too frequent use ; and ignorance of a proper rotation of crops, a practical knowledge of which is all-important. The deficiencies of the Indian cultivator in the drying and curing processes are even more marked, and are equally fatal to the possibilities of turning out a marketable article. When I mention that the tobacco-leaves are invariably dried in the air, exposed to the vicissitudes of the climate, instead of this process being carried out in carefully prepared sheds at a uniform temperature, that the fermentation and curing processes involve no precautions against overheating, and that the proper assortment of the leaf into bundles by colour and texture is quite ignored, the result can easily be imagined. The regulation of the moisture allowed to remain in the leaf is considered in Sumatra a most important factor, and a uniform system exists there of retaining exactly 85 per cent. of the original weight. When the Indian cultivator undertakes to cure his own tobacco he makes no attempt to regulate the moisture. In Southern India I am informed tobacco leaves are sold by the ryots by measure irrespective of weight. The best-grown tobacco is fit for nothing, if not scientifically dried, fermented, and packed.

The one essential condition for the successful production of marketable Indian tobacco is an adequate supply of capital in European hands, and worked under European supervision, and this will only be forthcoming if there is a reasonable prospect of ultimate profit to attract private enterprise. Before considering certain obvious drawbacks which have hitherto discouraged any such investment, it will be convenient at this point to examine what Govern-

ment has done, apart from and occasionally in conjunction with private trade, to foster the industry. Mr. O'Connor has suggested model farms as a means of showing by practical experiment with skilled curers what can be done with the tobacco plant, and what improvement in quality, and therefore in value, can be effected under favourable conditions. This, it was hoped, might induce the cultivators to abandon the imperfections in cultivation and curing, some of which have been mentioned above, and to conquer their inveterate dislike to the new scientific methods. It is obviously unnecessary to give a complete history of the various attempts made by the Government of India and the Local Administrations in this direction. It will be sufficient to give some account of what appear to have been the most successful.

A tobacco farm was projected in 1875 on the stud lands at Gazipur in the United Provinces, containing about 1,200 acres of suitable land. The farm was first divided into blocks, its irrigation improved, cultivators settled on it, and manure collected. An arrangement was then effected with Messrs. Begg, Sutherland and Co., of Calcutta, under which they were to lease the farm, on condition of their bringing over a skilled curer from America to carry on the cultivation of tobacco. The first attempts were not successful, the plant having been grown without skilled supervision, and dried without proper curing houses. Even under these untoward circumstances the results were sufficiently encouraging to justify further experiment, and samples of leaf sent to England in 1878 were valued at prices which, though exceedingly low, compared with foreign leaf, held out hopes of remunerative business. The Gazipur experiment appeared, in short, to indicate that tobacco can be grown so as to be saleable at a profit in the Dutch and English markets. Accordingly the Government of Bengal established at Poosa a similar farm, where the climatic conditions were somewhat more favourable, and the amount of land assigned to it, some 40,000 acres, allowed of operations on a larger

scale; the results were consequently more favourable. But so far the salutary action of Government has not been followed by the intended result—the attraction of private enterprise into a new and promising field of industry.

Many of the Indian cigar importers whom I have consulted are, it must be admitted, doubtful as to the capacity of India to produce marketable pipe and cigarette tobacco. They are, however, conversant only with the Madras product, which is too impregnated with saltpetre to be utilized for pipes or cigarettes. Other experts, nevertheless, are convinced that in Upper India, on a farm where the soil has been specially tested and selected, tobacco cultivation undertaken with proper regard to the rotation of crops, and with suitable drying and fermenting sheds under the supervision of a Virginian expert, could not possibly result in absolute loss, and might give developments of immense importance to India.

According to Sir W. Hunter (*"Gazetteer of India,"* second edition, 1886), the rudiments of an industry did exist in 1880, when the larger portion of the tobacco cured at those farms was put upon the Indian market in the form of *"Manufactured Smoking Mixture,"* and was for some time in demand at regimental messes. I can find no confirmation of this statement.

A difficult problem arises at this point as to what, consistently with the principles on which India is governed, is the proper limit of State effort to exploit the tobacco industry. Apart from undertaking the exclusive manufacture of tobacco, as in France, Government could no doubt carry on its cultivation on a farm as a mercantile speculation on a sufficiently large scale to put the matter beyond conjecture as to whether the Indian product can, under the most favourable conditions, be grown so as to suit the palate of Europeans. The venture, in order to ensure the best chances of success, would have to be on an extensive footing, and the capital risked proportionately large. In my opinion this would be unwarrantable.



However promising an enterprise may appear—however legitimate as a field for private capitalists, the element of uncertainty in all new commercial speculations debars the State, consistently with sound public policy, from hazarding capital derived from the taxation of the community. The legitimate limits of Government initiative have been reached when State-aided experiments have proved that there is some probability of a lucrative trade in any industry being created. But what would be unjustifiable recklessness on the part of a Government dealing with public funds, is a sound and legitimate speculation when undertaken by a private company or firm. It is not a little singular that, while millions of money are forthcoming from the public for gold-mining, with its 90 per cent. of failures, the Indian tobacco industry has hitherto tempted the investment of so little capital. Until the object-lesson of Sumatra has been assimilated and companies are formed with abundant capital, the Indian tobacco industry can never obtain a hold of European markets.

Other parts of the Empire have shown more enterprise. In Rhodesia the recently issued report of the British South Africa Company states that most encouraging results have been secured by the cultivation of tobacco. Capital has been embarked in the venture, experts have been engaged, and good pipe and cigarette tobaccos have already been produced in the Melsellar district, and a tobacco factory has been established.

The various reports of Bengal officials show that experiments with samples of acclimatized Virginia seed had promising results, but defective processes of fermenting have invariably nullified the good effect of more careful cultivation. Several efforts have been made to obtain a valuation by English brokers of samples of tobacco grown from various acclimatized foreign leaves, and, among others, 800 pounds of tobacco grown on the Gazipur estate. The leaf was valued at 5d. to 6d. a pound in bond. This is a

great improvement on the 1d. or 2d. per pound which had been hitherto the usual appraisement of Indian leaf. The Gazipur experiment shows that 800 pounds of fairly delicate leaf can be produced per acre at a cost of 4d. to 5d. a pound—and 1d. a pound profit yields £150 or £200 on 50 acres.

Sir Edward Buck, in his "Note on Tobacco Culture and Curing," wrote in 1878: "The Ghazipur experiments have succeeded in showing that Indian tobacco can approach American tobacco in quality, and is so valued in the English market, and also show that if an export trade can be established, the profits will be sufficiently good to prosecute the industry." Twenty-six years have elapsed since these too sanguine words were penned, but this promising industry is still non-existent. The stimulus of capital is still lacking, and Government is apparently weary of the effort of organizing experiments which point the road to success—a road that is indeed paved with good intentions, but which no capitalist has hitherto followed. It is, however, gratifying to be able to announce that the Government of Madras are on the eve of inaugurating another experiment in tobacco manufacture, which appears to avoid some of the errors of the past. After reciting the defects in cultivation and curing that I have described, it is suggested that the startling variations in quality and colour of the leaf may be due to such factors as the "character of the soil, the well-water, or of the plant itself." A scientific inquiry is to be set on foot "in the fields of the ryots engaged in the cultivation of tobacco near Dindigul." The ryots are to carry on, for the first time in the history of British India, cultivation under the supervision of the Agricultural Department; the harvesting and drying are to be effected on "the best Departmental advice," and the curing and fermentation under the direct superintendence of Messrs. Spencer and Co. The ryots will be allowed to appropriate all the profits, and the Director of Agriculture will provide them with such varieties of seed as are suitable for experiment. It will be interesting to watch the develop-

ment of this scheme, which appears in some respects more promising than earlier efforts in the same direction. It is to be regretted, however, that, although the Board considered the appointment of an agricultural chemist to be necessary for the success of the scheme, in order that expert analysis of the varieties of soil might be effected, no such appointment has yet been made.

The most recent valuations of which I can find any record were in 1890 and 1896. In the former year three cases of tobacco were received from the Government of Madras to ascertain its commercial value in England. It was grown in Madras, and cured by an expert in Government employment. Three varieties were sent, and though all three cases had suffered from defective packing, some of the tobacco was found to have been carefully cured. The quality and value were appraised by the different firms among whom it had been distributed. Extraordinary diversity existed among the estimates, the appraisement varying between 1d. and 4d. per pound. They concurred, however, in considering that the specimens sent were not suitable for the English market, but many of the firms suggested that a better criterion of its value could have been obtained if it had been sent in strips—*i.e.*, without the mid-rib. It is unfortunate that a practical attempt to place the tobacco upon a mercantile basis should have failed from causes so easily preventable, and that defective curing and bad packing should have deprived the experiment of value. The only other comparatively recent appraisement has been brought to my notice by the kindness of Mr. Rose, of the Indian Trade Inquiry Office. It is a report on a package of bright leaf tobacco grown at the Pioneer Factory, Tirhut, and sent to London for valuation in October, 1896. Here, again, the estimates of its value widely differed, but the seven brokers consulted agreed that most of the specimens sent had been packed in a moist condition, and showed signs of fermentation, a fatal defect in the eyes of manufacturers. They also found fault with

the size of the mid-rib, showing that the error of sending the leaf unstripped had been repeated. The 429 pounds sent were actually sold for  $3\frac{1}{2}$ d. a pound, an encouraging fact, considering that the defects above noted were all preventable, the small quantity offered, and the fact that hitherto Indian tobacco had practically no marketable value in London at all.

Tobacco brokers in England assert that there is no chance of Indian leaf, even if of good quality, establishing itself in the market unless a regular supply of large shipments is despatched from India, and that in order to secure adequate attention, it is essential that the various consignments should be authenticated by proper trade-marks. It is well understood that no article of commerce stands a fair chance in the market unless it is classified with a mark which indicates to brokers a definite standard of flavour and quality, which gradually gains commercial recognition. I am informed that in the analogous case of tea, when the brand is well known, the valuation of the chest is almost a matter of routine. The samples of Indian tobacco hitherto despatched to London, far from bearing a trade-mark, were not even sorted or classified for the purpose for which they were intended. Until, therefore, it is imported regularly and in sufficient bulk to allow of trade-marks being attached to the different parcels, its commercial value can never be fairly brought to the test.

I proceed to consider the question from another aspect, that of the fiscal conditions, which affect the Indian tobacco industry both in the United Kingdom and in India, a branch of the inquiry which I believe to be even more important than the preceding one. In almost every civilized country in the world tobacco is taxed for revenue rather than for protective purposes. In many respects it constitutes an ideal subject for taxation, especially when, as in some European countries, it is not immoderately heavy.

It must, however, be borne in mind that in its less expensive forms it is a comfort rather than a luxury, and in the form of pipe-tobacco is the solace of the rich and poor alike. Its abuse, unlike that of alcohol, is restrained by natural causes. Its use by adults is never demoralizing, except in the opinion of such chimerical associations as the "English Anti-Smoking Society and Anti-Narcotic League." Were this the occasion for a general review of fiscal policy in relation to tobacco, it would, I think, be easy to show that the tax in England on the raw material, though quite justifiable in principle, is altogether exorbitant in its extent. For the year ending December 31, 1903, the importation of unmanufactured tobacco into the United Kingdom aggregated about 85,500,000 pounds, valued at about £2,500,000, or an average price per pound in bond of 7d. Every pound of tobacco sold in the United Kingdom has to bear the crushing impost of 3s. or 3s. 3d. if stripped, which is more than five times the original cost—a larger tax than is levied anywhere else in Europe. In France, Italy, Spain, Turkey, and Roumania, the importation of manufactured and unmanufactured tobacco is prohibited, the trade in tobacco being a Government monopoly. In Germany the duty, though substantial, is not oppressive. On unmanufactured tobacco it is £2 3s. 2d. per cwt., and this tax of about 4½d. a pound enables German manufacturers to sell cigars of excellent quality at 1½d. or 2d. each. In the United States of America, itself to a large extent a tobacco-producing country, the duty is 35 cents a pound on ordinary leaf, and 50 cents on stripped tobacco. The case of Holland is quite exceptional, and the policy adopted, that of levying only a nominal registration duty of 7d. a cwt. on unmanufactured tobacco, has led to Amsterdam being the greatest emporium of tobacco-leaf in the world.

It is now necessary to consider the proportionate incidence of the specific duty of 3s. or 3s. 3d. a pound on the cheaper kinds of tobacco. The average value per pound of all imported tobacco is, as stated above, about 7d. In the case

of tobaccos which are highly priced, such as the produce of Borneo and Sumatra, the incidence is comparatively light. Indian tobacco, so far as can be gathered from the very small quantities that have been valued in London, may in the present condition of the product be estimated at 3d. or  $3\frac{1}{2}$ d. a pound; in other words, its valuation is about half the average of all imported tobacco. The economic effect of the duty is therefore doubly disadvantageous when compared with the average incidence. An impost which is somewhat oppressive as regards all but the highest-priced tobacco imposes so crushing a burden upon the Indian product that it is not surprising that cigars are not manufactured in London from Indian growths, and that an industry which might become a promising one is strangled before it is born. That such a trade could be established in London under different fiscal conditions is evident from the fact that during the last five years the value of the average export of Indian unmanufactured tobacco into Holland amounts to £9,000. In England the Board of Trade returns give an absolute blank.

I now turn to the fiscal question as it affects the importation of Indian cigars. The trade in unmanufactured tobacco being practically non-existent, except in Asiatic countries which do not fall within the scope of this paper, the incidence of the duty and its presumed effect in preventing the establishment of any such trade is, no doubt, to some extent an academic question. But the case is far different with cigars, for in this case the impost attacks and restricts an existent struggling industry. The duty in England up to the date of the last Budget was 5s. 6d. a pound, a heavier impost than prevails anywhere else in Europe or America. Thus the tax on cigars in Germany is 1s. 2d. per pound, and in the United States \$3 per 1,000, which is about equivalent to 1s. per pound. The effect of the incidence of the tax upon Indian cigars is unfair in the extreme. One thousand cigars of moderate quality can, I am informed, be landed in

London for 25s., and the duty in England until recently would have been £5 on the weight of approximately 20 pounds. As though this burden were not sufficient, the Chancellor of the Exchequer has recently raised the duty to 6s. a pound, and it is undoubtedly true that this increase has already seriously affected the Indian cigar trade. Of course my criticism as to the exorbitant character of the duty on tobacco is not entirely applicable to the case of cigars. The delicate produce of Cuba is an expensive luxury, and the tax of 5s., or even 6s., per pound on these cigars, instead of being many multiples of their value, may only add 10 per cent. to their price. But what is a comparatively light burden on a 1s. or 1s. 6d. cigar is oppressive on one costing 2d. or 3d. Indian cigars are sold in England at about 2d. apiece, and the severity of the duty on specific weight can be at once appreciated, amounting to three or four times their natural price. Considering the inequality of treatment in taxing articles of such widely different value by a specific duty, it is, perhaps, remarkable that an industry so heavily handicapped in the commercial race should have achieved even the modest success it has obtained in the London market, and that the trade should have reached the average dimensions of £38,000 in the last five years. It is, however, still more extraordinary that this unfairness of treatment has not hitherto attracted the attention it deserves from that increasing section of the English public who interest themselves in the welfare of our greatest Dependency, or that of the still larger public who are possessed of the conviction that the future safety of the Empire depends in a great measure on our ability to supply its commercial requirements from within the limits of the Empire itself. It can hardly be doubted—and in this view I am supported by the opinion of importers—that were this fiscal inequality remedied, or even somewhat modified, a largely increased trade could be done in Indian cigars, and this reform could be carried out without the smallest infraction of the principles of Free Trade. Until

some remedy is provided, the perhaps unique spectacle is afforded for the amusement of the cynic, of a great country so adjusting its fiscal burdens as to cripple one branch of a promising industry of its greatest Dependency, and effectually preventing another branch from coming into existence at all, without the faintest scintilla of benefit to itself.

It is distinctly of good omen that considerations such as the foregoing have lately attracted the attention of the Indian executive authorities. In the interesting Blue Book [Cd. 1,931], "Views of the Government of India on the Question of Preferential Tariffs," recently published, the Government of Lord Curzon expressed themselves as follows (p. 8): "Indian tobacco is at present very unfavourably treated in the United Kingdom, being subject to the same specific duty as the higher valued American article. If the two were placed on a footing of equality, and still more if the Indian article were accorded preferential treatment, our trade should receive a considerable stimulus. . . ." The separate minute of the financial Member of Council, Sir E. Law, emphasizes still more strongly the anomalous treatment of the Indian article. He observes (p. 21): "To the above" (*i.e.*, the export trade, which "includes many categories of first-class importance") "should perhaps be added manufactured tobacco, because although the exports to-day are very small . . . there is good reason for looking on this as a growing trade, which, under more favourable conditions than those now existing, might develop great importance. . . . The importation of Indian tobacco might easily be encouraged by charging duty on tobacco at *ad valorem* instead of specific rates." May it not reasonably be inferred from this weighty and unanimous expression of opinion of the Government of India incorporated in an important State paper, that if suitable representations were made by growers and manufacturers of Indian tobacco, the Government of Lord Curzon would lend them its powerful support towards the removal of a grievance so fully recognised?



It is hardly necessary to observe that an alteration in the incidence of the duty will not alone suffice either for the creation of the tobacco industry, or even for a great stride in the cigar trade. Unlike the palace of Aladdin, built in a single night, no beneficent Genius will produce miraculous results by a stroke of the pen. To achieve success will no doubt require years of unremitting effort, and involve, as in the case of Sumatra, much wasted capital and loss of fortune before the Indian trade can be expected to attain respectable dimensions.

I now proceed to consider what alteration can be effected in the incidence of the duty satisfactory to all the interests involved. The suggestion of Lord Curzon's Government of an alteration of the system of collecting the entire tobacco duty from a specific to an *ad valorem* basis, equitable as it appears, is for various reasons an impossible remedy. The question has already been considered by the Treasury authorities in connection with the enhanced duty on stripped tobacco, and the dislocation of the existing machinery would be so great, and the disorganization of an immense trade so serious, that no Chancellor of the Exchequer would consent to such a formidable alteration. In the second place, such a course would seriously injure the enormous British-made cigar industry. A moment's consideration will show that, strange as it may appear, the principle of the specific duty on unmanufactured tobacco being about half that imposed on a similar weight of imported cigars, acts as a protection to the British cigar industry. These cigars are manufactured in London from various tobaccos imported from Sumatra, Borneo, and other places. The higher grade and more expensive tobaccos are used for cigar-making purposes, but under the specific duty system this is of no importance. With an *ad valorem* basis the English market would be flooded with cheap Manilla, Dutch, and German cigars, to the great detriment of the British cigar trade. Whether

the protection of the British cigar trade by the present specific system is strictly defensible or not, this is not the place to inquire, for I am not writing from the point of view of Tariff Reform. But its dimensions are so immense—although it is impossible to estimate them, because when once unmanufactured tobacco has paid its quota to the Treasury in bond its destination is no longer ear-marked—that no Government could attempt to disturb it by a vital alteration of its fiscal system. And it must also be remembered that the tobacco of a British possession, that of North Borneo, largely enters into the manufacture of the British cigar. I have been shown by one of the principal cigar manufacturers in London masses of Borneo tobacco which were actually being used at the time for the production of British cigars. Lastly, even if the change were effected, it would not benefit the Indian cigar trade in the very least. Instead of the one formidable competitor which exists at present—the British cigar industry—it would be swamped by the competition of the other foreign cheap cigars already mentioned.

Is there, then, no remedy for the unjust treatment of Indian cigars and tobacco pointed out by the Government of India? I believe I shall be able to show that relief can be granted by an alteration which is alike simple, effectual, not subversive of great commercial interests, and which would be regarded as equitable even by its rivals. It violates none of the accepted canons of the fiscal system of the present moment. It is based upon the fact which is admitted by all experts in the tobacco trade that the intrinsic weight of Indian tobacco, and therefore of Indian cigars, is very much heavier than that of all other tobacco and cigars which are now in the market. One of the leading retailers in London informs me that a box of Indian cigars weighs on an average 2 pounds, whereas the weight of other varieties of cigars of the same size and appearance is about 25 per cent. less, or  $1\frac{1}{2}$  pounds. This is principally owing to the thicker character of the leaf and the greater

size of the midrib. The remedy, then, which I venture to propose is to grant a drawback of a quarter of the duty levied on Indian cigars to compensate the importer for the extra weight, from which he obtains, I ought to observe, no other compensating advantage. This rebate, while it would be equitable from every point of view, would give an effective stimulus to the Indian cigar trade, and for many years to come would involve so small a loss to the Treasury that the Chancellor of the Exchequer could regard it as a *quantité négligeable*. This proposal is the only one which appears to me alike feasible and just.

There is, however, another disability which prejudices the success of the tobacco industry in India itself, to which public attention should be drawn. India is, with the exception of Holland, the only civilized country in the world, so far as I am aware, which admits unmanufactured tobacco entirely free of duty, and which imposes on manufactured tobacco so low a duty as 5 per cent. *ad valorem*. It is an interesting though perplexing study to note the curiously divergent views on this subject which appear to have been held by the financial authorities in India at different periods. At one time a suggestion was put forward to establish a Government monopoly in tobacco. As to such a proposal as this, no one can withhold assent from the views of Sir John and General Strachey, expressed in their work on "Finances and Public Works of India," published in 1882. They observe (p. 368): "We may put aside as impracticable, except under the pressure of some financial catastrophe, so great that it would justify almost any experiment, the idea of establishing a Government monopoly of sale of tobacco throughout India. Such a monopoly might, doubtless, if it were possible, yield a large revenue—perhaps £3,000,000 or £4,000,000 a year—but no approach has hitherto been made as to the suggestion of a scheme by which this could be done." For the sake of completeness, I may add that the question

of placing a special tax upon the cultivation of the plant was formerly a favourite project among Anglo-Indian administrators. As to this, the Right Hon. W. N. Massey stated in 1868 : "The possibility of levying a tax on tobacco is out of the question. It would be a tax extremely oppressive in its incidence ; it would be collected at an enormous cost, and it would fall entirely on the poorest classes."

Although there is now a settled conviction upon these two points, the question of the taxation of imports of tobacco has produced a great conflict of opinion and practice. Thus, in 1859 there was a 20 per cent. *ad valorem* duty on all imported tobacco ; in 1860, owing to the financial pressure of the Mutiny, the duty was a specific one of half a rupee per seer (about 2 pounds) on unmanufactured tobacco, and one rupee on manufactured tobacco. In 1862 the Financial Member, in his Budget statement, observed : "The duty on tobacco is so absurdly high that it is clear we are driving all but the superior sorts out of the market, and losing revenue. The duty of 1 rupee per lb. is fully 100 per cent. on ordinary American tobacco, and its effect has been to reduce the importation in three years from 1,200,000 pounds to about 369,000 pounds, a striking proof of the impolicy of excessive import duties. I propose to reduce the duty to 20 per cent. *ad valorem*, which, I have no doubt, will cause a slight gain rather than a loss of revenue." The duty was accordingly fixed at 20 per cent. *ad valorem* on all tobacco unmanufactured and manufactured. In successive years, the policy of gradually freeing imports from duty has led to a continuous reduction of the duty. Thus, in 1864 it dropped to 10 per cent., and in 1875 to 5 per cent. on all tobacco, but by the operation of the Indian Tariff Act of 1894, the tax was fixed, and remains now, at 5 per cent. *ad valorem* on manufactured tobacco, and leaf of every kind is admitted free. I have referred to most of the speeches made at the introduction of the financial statements during these years, and cannot find that there was any serious discussion of the principle

to be adopted in taxing foreign tobacco, except that in 1864 the observation fell from the Financial Member of Council that as foreign tobacco had to compete with the untaxed produce of this country, "it is thought right to reduce the duty from 20 per cent. to 10 per cent. *ad valorem*." If this argument is to hold good, I should have thought that the only logical outcome would have been to admit foreign tobacco duty free. Since the Indian Tariff Act, the amount of duty levied on foreign tobacco has been so small as fully to account for the neglect of the subject in the financial debates. Indeed, the revenue from this source is so insignificant that it has recently not been separately shown in the returns.

However the financial circumstances of India may have justified these remarkable alterations, both in the amount and the character of the tax, the uncertainty arising from the constantly shifting duty must have seriously hampered traders in the past. I am now, however, concerned with the present, and I wish to point out that, while in England Indian trade is handicapped by having to pay relatively a heavier duty than any other kind of tobacco, in India a struggling native industry is overweighted and restricted by having to compete with foreign manufactured tobaccos, which have to pay so small a duty as to be almost inappreciable. It is, of course, the fact that there is no excise on Indian tobacco, but the Indian product is more effectually disqualified from successful competition with her foreign rival by want of capital and by antiquated methods than such a trifling additional disadvantage as a 5 per cent. excise would impose. When a man whose only weapons are a bow and arrow has to fight a duel with a soldier equipped with modern arms of precision, it is little comfort or encouragement to him to be told that in the conflict his hands will not be tied behind his back.

The accumulated wisdom of centuries has, as already observed, in nearly all countries detected in tobacco an object specially fitted for moderate and sometimes heavy

taxation for revenue purposes. The Indian exchequer foregoes a considerable sum which might well allow of the reduction of taxation in other directions, and the Indian tobacco trade—the Cinderella of commerce—is flouted by her wealthier sisters. No step could have been devised more effectually to cripple the home trade for the benefit of the importer. The imports of unmanufactured tobacco in 1903-1904, as will be seen from the table at p. 84, amounted to about 350,000 pounds, valued at about Rs. 3,00,000, and of manufactured tobacco to a total of 4,690,000 pounds, valued at about Rs. 49,60,000. There can be no doubt, I think, that a moderate tax should be levied on this trade. It may be argued that 64·6 per cent. of the imports come from the United Kingdom. This is perfectly true, but so far from being an objection, it strengthens my argument. I think, therefore, that a return should be made to the duty of 20 per cent. *ad valorem* on manufactured tobacco.

It may next be argued that logically and following the English analogy, I ought to recommend a tax of 10 per cent. on imported unmanufactured tobacco. If, it may be urged, it be right for the English Chancellor of the Exchequer, while levying substantial duties on tobacco of all kinds, to protect the home manufacturer of British cigars by assessing twice the duty on cigars that is chargeable on the raw leaf, equity demands that in India the home industry should be protected by a duty of a similar proportion on the imported leaf. But this argument, though plausible, will not commend itself to those who are conversant with the facts connected with the Indian cigar manufacture. In the first place, the only Indian cigar that enjoys a limited popularity is covered with the Sumatra leaf. In the second place, other brands of foreign tobacco, especially that imported from Borneo, a British possession, are extensively used as a blend for mixing with the Indian tobacco for the filler of the cigar. In fact, the weight of foreign tobacco used in the making of 1,000 of the best Indian cigars weighing,

say, 20 pounds, is no less than 11 pounds. It would therefore seriously increase the cost of manufacture, which in this instance would fall, I imagine, entirely on the producer if a tax of 10 per cent. were levied on one moiety of the tobacco which constitutes the best Indian cigar. Were India itself the principal market for the article these considerations might have less weight. The market in India for cigars is exclusively that of the classes and not of the masses. Those who have been in the habit of smoking Indian cigars, and whose taste will tolerate no other, would not dream of abandoning the solace to which they have been accustomed because of a trifling addition to the cost. But it must be remembered that nine-tenths of the Indian trade in cigars is foreign, and the addition of 10 per cent. to the cost of production, whether borne by the producer or the consumer, would be a great disadvantage in competition with the German, Mexican, or British-made cigar in the United Kingdom. Possibly, moreover, a drawback could be claimed on cigars exported, or the manufacture could be carried out in bond, and in either case the product of the tax would be insignificant. No import duty on the raw leaf is economically possible.

Throughout this article I have endeavoured to avoid both the Scylla of Free Trade and the Charybdis of Protection. I have tried to navigate my bark clear of either rock on the principle of the motto "*In medio tutissimus ibis*," and if it be objected that the 20 per cent. import duty on manufactured tobacco will protect the Indian industry, I take my stand on the undoubted fact that a tax on imported tobacco in India is a tax on a luxury, and that, as will presently appear, its proceeds can be utilized in diminishing a tax on a necessity. If it has the incidental effect of helping to create an industry in India which at present is non-existent, this ought not to be a drawback in the eyes of all well-wishers of our greatest Dependency.

The levying of a 20 per cent. *ad valorem* duty on manufactured tobacco—*i.e.*, on cigars, pipe tobacco, and cigarettes

—would provide a sum of nearly Rs. 10,00,000 to the Indian exchequer, and would at the same time give a considerable stimulus to the Indian producer. The Indian grower and manufacturer of cigars and cigarettes would be able to compete more successfully with the imported article, and the necessary impetus would be given to English capitalists to turn their attention to the production of pipe and cigarette tobacco, which we know can be produced in India if sufficient capital, skill, and organized labour are utilized in a scientific manner.

The next question is whether the moderate tax which I propose would seriously injure the foreign trade. From the Board of Trade returns at p. 84, it will be seen that in 1903-1904 the trade in imported tobacco increased by 11·3 per cent. to Rs. 49·7 lacs. The chief item was cigarettes, which increased in quantity by 30 per cent., and in value by 25 per cent. The relative cheapness of the cigarette is ousting the cigar from all the markets of the world, and India is no exception. The increase in the cigarette trade during the four years in which it has been separately registered is no less than 90 per cent. So prosperous is the trade that quite recently Messrs. Oakes and Messrs. McDowell have begun manufacturing cigarettes themselves at Guindy from imported Virginia leaf, and two varieties are sold in India at 4s. 8d. per 1,000 and 3s. per 1,000 respectively. Does anyone believe that this trade, which, as the Government of India remark in their review of Indian trade, "has undoubtedly the capacity of very great expansion," will be ruined or seriously jeopardized by the addition of 1s. and 9d. respectively to the prices I have just quoted? The foreign importer with the prestige of a long-established business, and with his produce accurately adapted from generations of experience to the taste of his clients, can afford to give a much larger handicap to the new and tentative trade of India than this trifling impost. I cannot suppose that objections such as I have mentioned can weigh for a moment with the immense advantage to



India of a stimulus to this industry, which may provide additional employment for thousands in the cigar and cigarette-making trades. This argument is greatly strengthened by the fact just mentioned, that cigarette manufacture has actually commenced in India, although at present with the Virginia leaf. I feel some confidence that before long Indian tobacco will to some extent replace Virginian.

It does not fall within the scope of this article to discuss what measure of relief could be effected by the Government for lightening the taxation of the people through the re-adoption of an impost which appears to have been abandoned just at the time when it was most needed. But I may be pardoned if I refer in one or two sentences to Mr. Brodrick's last Budget speech, in which he describes the recent reduction of the Salt Tax : " There is, it appears, a consensus of opinion throughout India that in most places the retail prices were favourably affected within a month after the reduction of the duty. But there is an unimpeachable proof that the reduction did actually reach the pockets of the peasantry. In the very first year after the remission the increase in receipts from the Salt Tax, owing to the larger consumption, brought down the loss to the Exchequer by nearly a quarter of a million." We need not seek further for the destination of the product of this tax on luxury, which, small though it would be at present, would at any rate go some little way in enabling the Government to relieve the peasantry of India by a further remission of the salt duty.

It is not so very many years ago that the Indian tea trade occupied the rather humiliating position of the Indian tobacco industry at the present moment. The flavour was considered peculiar—too coarse and rank ever to vie with the delicate produce of China. That within the last decade Indian tea should not only prove a formidable rival, but actually drive the China product out of the English market, would have been scouted as an absurdity. But

the tea industry did not attain its present proud position without a hard struggle. The processes of manufacture and the secrets of drying and blending had first to be learned from Chinese experts. Many fortunes were lost before the lessons of economy were taught by bitter experience. The faults now found with Indian tobacco are almost an exact reproduction of the criticism passed on Indian tea during the early stages of its importation. The future of Indian tobacco is "on the knees of the gods," but surely the analogy of Indian tea gives some ground for hoping that Indian tobacco will yet achieve a triumph in Continental and English markets.

The fact is being realized, as it has never been realized before, that the development of Indian industries is of vital importance to the prosperity of the country. The problem of preserving financial equilibrium in a country where the people allow no prudential consideration to limit the teeming population, while the experienced beneficence of Government more and more successfully combats the ancient and natural remedies of death by plague and famine, is one that can only be successfully solved by the exploitation of every feasible commercial enterprise. The recent decision of Lord Curzon's Government to form a separate Department of Industry and Commerce indicates, let us hope, that a new era has dawned in India. The multifarious duties of the hard-worked officials have hitherto left them little time for more than spasmodic efforts to stimulate private enterprise. An official of rank will now be appointed who can devote the whole of his time and energies to the many complex problems which await his attention, and the appointment involves an assurance that any promising scheme for the development of the industrial resources of the country will receive support and encouragement.

## THE FOUNDATION OF PENANG—CAPTAIN LIGHT AND THE NONYAH.

BY A. FRANCIS STEUART.

CAPTAIN ELISHA TRAPAUD, of the Engineers, who was one of the pioneers present at the foundation of the Settlement of Penang, or Prince of Wales Island, brought out in 1788 at London a tract\* (now very scarce) on the subject; and I therefore give a long quotation from it here, as it is perhaps not amiss sometimes to remind the dwellers in the Far East what they owe, not only to the pioneer founders, but to the alliances these founders frequently made with the Native Princes, which, as in this case, won frequently whole territories to the British flag. Trapaud writes: "The island (Penang) is between thirty and forty miles in circumference, and was given by the King of Quedah to Captain Light, a gentleman in the India Marine Service, who has resided a long time amongst the Malays, and speaks their language perfectly. He had assisted the above Prince in quelling some troubles in his dominions, who in return bestowed on him a Princess of the blood in marriage, together with this island as her dower. Captain Light, who is extremely well beloved amongst the Malays, chose to marry the Princess according to the fashions of her own country.

"As these are somewhat curious, it may not be amiss to say a word or two concerning the mode of courtship and marriage used in general amongst the Malays of Quedah. Marriage here, contrary to the customs of most other nations in the East, is a regular treaty between the parties, on the footing of equality. There is, however, a present made to the girl's friends, which is usually twelve dollars. The marriage compact stipulates that all effects, gains, or earnings are to be equally the property of both, and in case of divorce

\* "A Short Account of the Prince of Wales Island, or Pulo Peenang, in the East Indies, given to Captain Light by the King of Quedah," by Elisha Trapaud. (London, 1788.)

by mutual consent the stock, debts, and credits are to be equally divided. If the man insists on the divorce, he gives the woman her half of the effects, and loses the twelve dollars. If the woman only claims the divorce, she forfeits her right to half the effects, but is entitled to keep her paraphernalia, and her relations are to pay back the twelve dollars if demanded.

"On the wedding day the friends, slaves, and domestics of the parties are richly habited, and set before the houses of the bride and bridegroom many pikes with fringes of white cotton and red, and discharge several guns. In the afternoon the bridegroom goes from his own house to the bride's in the following manner: Four men walk first with several sticks fastened to a pole, which others strike with little sticks. These are followed again by others, who carry long drums, which they beat either with sticks or their hands. After these others strike against sticks tied about their necks, and of them there are often sixty, eighty, or an hundred, according to the condition of the bridegroom. Then you see others, again, with peacocks' feathers and horses' tails; and they are followed by thirty or forty armed with darts, swords, and shields, who from time to time stop in the streets to strike together, or dance, for the diversion of the spectators.

"There are others with drums and sticks, followed by thirty young women richly drest, some carrying flowers, others pictures, little gilt boxes, moveables, and habits of all sorts as presents from the bridegroom to the bride. The women follow immediately, who likewise carry divers pieces of household stuff. The bridegroom is on horseback, richly drest, having two of his most intimate friends riding on each side of him, and a great number of persons invited to the wedding conclude the show. When they are come to the bride's house, all the drums stay for the bridegroom at the door, and the men that carry the arms make a lane for the women that have the furniture; after whom the bridegroom arriving, he dismounts, and then the bride appears with a vessel of water, who on her knees washes

his feet, and, taking him by the hand, leads him into the house, where they continue some time together. Then he, leading her by the hand, goes out with all the company, and in the same order as before they go to his house, where the bridegroom enters first, then all the guests, who are entertained with marriage feasts for three days together.

“Whether these were precisely the ceremonies that took place on the marriage of Captain Light with the Malay Princess we will not pretend to determine; this, however, is certain, that the island of Pulo Peenang, which was given with her in dowry, he, as a subject of Great Britain, took possession of, in the name of His Britannick Majesty, for the use of the English East India Company.

“This was about three or four years ago. The island, however, continued without a name to mark it as an appendage to the British Empire until August 11, 1786, which, being the eve of the Prince of Wales's birthday, the island was then named after His Royal Highness by Captain Light, the Governor, the following officers and gentlemen being present at the hoisting of the flag, viz.:

“Captain Light, the Governor.

“Lieutenant Gray, commanding one hundred native Bengal Marines. (These two gentlemen had landed on the island about a fortnight before, and were living in tents.)

“Captain-Lieutenant Trapaud, of the Engineers; Captain Richard Lewin, commanding the *Vansittart*; Captain Thomas Wall, commanding the *Valentine*; Captain Glass, commanding a country ship; Captain Howell, Bengal Artillery; a passenger; Mr. George Smith, merchant, a passenger; Mr. John Beatson, merchant, a passenger. . . . Captain Light had some idea of building a temporary fort, with fascines, gabions, etc.; but we are informed that, as it is meant to make a permanent settlement on the island, they have built, or are building, a brick fort, which whether it is to have a name distinct from the island is not yet ascertained.

“On the day that the island received its name there were one hundred Bengal sepoys encamped on it, who were

commanded by Lieutenant Gray ; but since that time the command has been given to Lieutenant Glass, and two companies of sepoy and some European artillery have been added. They had then six guns of different calibres, which have probably been augmented since.

"Captain Light expected a great number of families from Quedah and its environs to people his new Government ; and as he is extremely well liked amongst the Malays, we may reasonably conclude, when the fort is built, and they are not afraid of being molested by the Dutch, whose vicinity at Malacca makes them very jealous of this new establishment, that five or six hundred families (Malays) are now resident in the island, besides considerable numbers of Chinese, more of whom are coming over every day."

There is nothing the least impossible in this contemporary account ; it is borne out by the belief of all Captain Light's immediate descendants ; and we know, moreover, that Malay Princes frequently made grants of their lands to foreigners. Raja James Brooke obtained Sarawak from the Sultan of Brunei by grant in 1841, and as far back as 1703 Captain Alexander Hamilton writes : \* " I called at Johore "—where he had special influence with the Sultan—"in my way to China, and he treated me very kindly, and made me a present of the island of Sincapure ; but I told him it could be of no use to a private person, tho' a proper place for a company to settle on," which the British did not do until induced by Sir Stamford Raffles in 1819. In this way the island of Penang might easily also have been made over to Captain Light titularly as dowry ; but the fact has been often disputed, and we are still in doubt whether it was the truth or not. Crawford, a well-informed writer, writing about 1820, † says : " A romantic story had long obtained currency that Mr. Light married the daughter of the Rajah of Quedah, and received with her as dowry the island of Penang. There was

\* " Hamilton's Account of the East Indies," vol. ii., p. 97 (London, 1744).

† " Dictionary of the Indian Archipelago." He writes much the same in earlier works also.

no foundation of truth in this tale. The wife of the enterprising adventurer was neither a princess nor a Malay, but a Mesizo Portuguese of Siam, and the Rajah of Queda did not give his desert island to anyone, but sold it to the British Government for the payment of a quit rent of 10,000 hard Spanish dollars a year." Another writer (also well informed) writes : \* " It has been long and confidently believed that this Captain Light having married the daughter of the King (or Rajah) of Quedah (Keddah) obtained possession of the island of Pinang as his wife's dowry, and that he subsequently sold it to the East India Company for a sum of ready money and the appointment of Chief of the Settlement. This story, though widely circulated and fondly cherished by the descendants of that gentleman, has unfortunately no foundation in truth." If these later authorities are correct, was there, then, no truth in Elisha Trapaud's contemporary account ? Into this we must try carefully to inquire, though no authority is very definitely conclusive, and each seems to war with the other.

Captain Light's will shows that during the year 1772 he allied himself with a lady whom he names then (in 1794) as *Martinha Rozells*, and it is our suggestion that along with this Portuguese name she may have also borne contemporaneously the Malay style of the *Nonyah* or lady ; † and if she did so, is most probably the "*Nonyah Yeen*, a daughter of the King of Quedah," whom Light's son-in-law mentioned when visiting Penang in 1818, and to whom we shall refer later. Why she should have received this Malay appellation it is difficult to show, unless as Trapaud says ; and the late Mr. Skinner, C.M.G., Resident Councillor of Penang, believed she was, though nominally (at least after 1788) a Christian, yet in some way a "*Princess of the blood*" of the Keddah royal family. Certain it is that Captain Light was not married to her by any Christian rite, but by a

\* " *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*," vol. iv., p. 633.

† A tradition in Penang tells that she had both a Malay and a Portuguese title (" *Letters of F. Light Perak* ").

Mahommedan "Nikah" marriage;\* and though he dared not describe her therefore as his wife in his will, he made ample provision for her there as his relict.

Alliance with "The Nonyah" in 1772 was the foundation of his career, however, as the founder of a British Settlement, for in that year she acted as his mediatrix with the Raja of Keddah. Captain Light wrote to Warren Hastings June 17, 1772, from there: "The old King puts no confidence now in any one of his Ministers; he has declared before them all that he will give his country to the English rather than the Bugesses shall have it, and if they will not take it he will send to the Dutch.

"The offer he made me upon my first arrival I thought so advantageous that not to have accepted it would have seemed downright folly. The purport of the contract is as follows:

"In the year one thousand one hundred and eighty-five named Ze, in the ninth day of the moon, Moharram, the Nonia, brought here Francis Light, who said he lived with Mr. Harrop in Acheen, Joint Agent for Mr. Francis Jourdain,† Merchant, at Madras. The Nonia presented herself to the King, and told him that she went to Acheen, and with his licence she had asked assistance, and promised in his name and licence to trade in Queda, for which they promised and sent two vessels with guns, powder, arms, and sepoy with Captain Light; and if the King granted their master licence to trade and keep a house in Queda, they would furnish him with one hundred sepoy to keep out any enemy whatever." This bears out to some extent Trapaud's account: "The Nonia prayed that the King would give a licence for the whole trade of Europeans, Bugesses Prows, Acheen and Batta Bars, with all vessels and for all merchandize which the King was used to trade in, and that the profits shall be divided into three parts, one part to be

\* Cameron's "Our Indian Tropical Possessions."

† "Francis Jourdain, Esq.," died at Madras, November 15, 1784. A "João Harrop menino de Jdade" (sic) was buried in the Catholic church in Cuddalore in May, 1776 ("Monumental Inscriptions," Madras).



given to the King, one part to be sent to Madras, and one part to Captain Light to pay the expence of the sepoys and all other expences attending the Factory." The King was well pleased with this arrangement, ordered the copies to be made out, requested Light to hoist the English colours, which he did, and presented him with "two Siam slaves" to be sent to Mr. Hastings.

But though Penang had been two years under British occupation, it was not until December, 1788, that we find the name (her importance indicated by following immediately upon the few Catholic clergy) "Martinha" appearing in the Penang census.\* She is there described as from "Siam," and her son William from "Queda." She had with her three female servants and one "boy," all from Keddah also.

In 1791 an important event in the early history of Penang took place, namely, a "war" between Captain Light and the Raja of Keddah. The latter found his revenues falling off in a marked way, the trading prahus now going to Penang, and so escaping his extortions. He at once demanded an increased subsidy of \$4,000 to compensate him. Captain Light had no power to grant the demand, and the King with an army of 1,000 men and twenty Lanoon (pirate) boats menaced the island. He fortified Prya on the mainland, and made ready for the attack. But Captain Light did not wait for the attack; he assumed the offensive, and captured the fort on the night of April 12, and destroyed the prahus in the river on the 16th, losing only four native artillery, eleven being wounded, and ten native infantry wounded. The majority of the prahus were destroyed, and the Raja made an advantageous peace, obtaining an increased grant of \$10,000. This it will be seen Crawford thought he had from the first cession of the island.

Captain Light was very proud of this victory, and named the son that Martinha bore him about this time Francis Lanoon Light in commemoration of it. The Raja of

\* She is not here named as "Rozells." There were, however, some Portuguese of that name among the early colonists in Penang.

Keddah declared after the rout that he was ashamed of having ever been a friend of the people who fought in the night without giving fair warning, and "The Flight of Praya, a Malay Dirge," was thus sung by John Leyden : \*

"Warriors ! Champions of Malaya !  
You shall live in endless light,  
Though you vanished in the night—  
Perish'd in the fight of Praya.

"Foot to foot and man to man,  
When beneath the burning beam  
Burnished lances brightest gleam,  
Yet the contest still began.

"Shouts of battle heard afar  
Bade your foes the steel prepare.  
Give the winds their coal-black hair,  
March to meet the coming war.

"Not a breeze convey'd the tale  
When the whites began the fray :  
Save they feared the eye of day  
Should see their faces ghastly pale.

"Now in forms of finer air,  
While these grassy graves you view,  
Scent the flowerets that we strew,  
List the vengeance that we swear.

"Warriors ! O'er each ridgy tomb  
The mournful marjoram shall grow,  
And the grave-flowers pale shall blow,  
Sad memorials of your doom.

"On your long-lamented clay  
The unrelenting blood shall blow  
Of the vengeful buffalo,  
And his frontlets broad decay.

"Chieftains ! Warriors of Malaya !  
You shall be avenged in light,  
Though you perished in the night—  
Perish'd in the fight of Praya."

Captain Light died, to the grief of all the island settlers, of fever, October 21, 1794. The day before he died he was able to sign a will leaving his affairs in order. His last thoughts were for Martinha Rozells and his children. He

\* "Poetical Works," Edinburgh, 1875.

left the latter his whole estate, excluding legacies to the personal friends who were his executors, and excluding what he left to Martinha herself, namely: "The Paddy field situated in Nibong plain, and containing one hundred orlongs of land or thereabouts, together with the houses, plantations, implements of husbandry, and forty buffaloes," as well as "the pepper gardens with my garden house, plantations, and all the land by me cleared in that part of the island called Suffolk, as also the pepper garden and plantation farming by Chee Hong in Orange Valley," and his bungalow in George Town with its furniture. He added: "I give also unto the said Martina Rozells four of my best cows and one bull." In addition he left her his Malay bonds, his Batta shares (if she wished), and one slave Esan ("she remains with Martina"), but his other slaves he released from further bondage. It is difficult to trace the further history of his estate. In 1796 Major Macdonald (Light's successor, and somewhat hostile) wrote: \* "To read Mr. Light's and Mr. Scott's account of the Malays a stranger would be led to doubt that those gentlemen had written of the same people, that both for several years resided amongst them, spoke their language, and in many respects assimilated themselves to their dress, manners, and customs," adding: "Mr. Light's estate, from the bequest, is running fast into jungle, to the certain loss of his heirs and of the Company, who ought to expect from it, were it in active and industrious hands, an handsome revenue."

In 1810 the administration had gone completely into confusion, and a lawsuit ensued.† The decision shows that Martinha Rozells, "one of the devisees," had received from James Scott, a trustee, the annuity of 850 Spanish dollars, but that the annuity was in arrear, and the Suffolk estates were then in the hands of James Scott's trustees. Later, her son-in-law, General Welsh, writes in 1818 of Prince of Wales Island, "once the property of my deceased father-in-

\* "Penang Records," November 12, 1796.

† "Prince of Wales Island Gazette," November 10, 1810.

law, Mr. Francis Light,\* the first Governor, whose offspring, then in infancy, have lived to see every inch of ground and even his houses alienated from them," thus showing his belief in the statement that the island was received originally as a dowry.

In 1804 we get, it is believed, a glimpse of *Martinha* under her Malay title in another of John Leyden's poems, "Christmas in Penang," which, it is said, was addressed to her,† and was assuredly not dedicated to a European. It is a very pleasing link, therefore, between the East and the West :

"Dear Nona, Christmas comes from far  
To seek us near the Eastern star,  
But wears not in this Orient clime  
Her wintry wreaths and ancient thyme.  
What flowerets must we strew to thee  
For glossy bay or rosemary?

"Champaca flowers for thee we strew  
To drink the merry Christmas dew.  
Though hailed in such Malayan grove  
The saffron-tinted flower of love  
Its tulip buds adorn the hair  
Of none more loved amid the fair.

"Banana leaves their ample screen  
Shall spread to match the holly green;  
Well may their glossy softness please,  
Sweet emblem of the soul at ease,  
The heart extending frank and free  
Like the still green banana-tree.

"Nona, may all the woodland powers  
That stud Malaya's clime with flowers,  
Or on the breeze their fragrance fling,  
Around thee form a fairy ring  
To guard thee, ever gay and free,  
Beneath thy green banana-tree."

In 1818, as we have seen, her son-in-law, General Welsh, visited Penang from Madras for his health's sake. He does

\* "Military Reminiscences," by Colonel J. Welsh, vol. ii., pp. 112, 113 (London, 1830).

† Information from Mr. William Sanderson, late of the Straits Settlements.

not mention her in any special manner, but gives many tales of his doings—how he went to Suffolk, “once the private property of Mr. Light, and his favourite residence,” and how he visited the gardens of “Nonyah Yeen, a daughter of the King of Quedah,” and that there “we were desired to help ourselves to anything we should fancy.” Was this not the garden of Martinha, who appears in the old Light family papers\* as “Martina, Princess of Quedah?” If so, the only other fact we can chronicle about her is her death; for Martinha Rozells died about 1822, when an administration to her estate appears in the Penang Archives.†

Her children were (apparently) educated under their guardian, William Fairlie, “the prince of Indian merchants” chiefly at Calcutta, except William, the eldest son, who had been sent “home” by his father, and was placed in charge of his old friend, George Doughty, High Sheriff of Suffolk. He was afterwards distinguished in the Peninsular War as an Intelligence officer, had a romantic career of adventure, ultimately becoming Surveyor-General of South Australia. He died 1839, having founded the city of Adelaide, which makes his name revered in South Australia.

The daughters were styled “the most beautiful women in India,” and were married at very early ages, and became ancestresses of whole tribes of Anglo-Indians. Sarah Light, the eldest, married at Calcutta, December 28, 1794, James Welsh, who died January 24, 1861, a General of the Madras Establishment. Mary Light married March 9, 1805, George Boyd, of Katullee and Pubna in Bengal, a rich indigo planter called the “Dana Hakim,” and Anne Light married November 20, 1809, Charles Hunter, Esq., M.D., H.E.I.C.S.

Francis Lanoon Light, the youngest son, had, like the eldest, a romantic career. He became a friend of Sir Robert Rollo Gillespie, one of the conquerors of Java (who was godfather to his son), and was made Resident of Minto (Muntok) during the brief British occupation of Java and

\* MSS. in the possession of Mrs. Mason.

† MSS. India Office.

Sumatra. Retiring to Penang, he died there, it is said, "from the effects of a poisoned arrow," October 5, 1823. Following in his father's footsteps, he married Charlotte, a Javanese Princess, and in his turn left descendants, some of whom still live in the country which "The Nonyah" won by her influence for Captain Light, and through him for the British of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

## A TRIP TO THE ANTIPODES.

BY GEORGE BROWN, M.D.

IN the early ages, when Greece was young and beginning to thrive and increase in population, many adventurous spirits departed from the old country and formed colonies along the shores of the Great Sea, the Mediterranean, and cities were founded which, in a few years rivalled in wealth, population, and power the ancient mother of arts and eloquence. Her influence extended from Italy and Sicily on the west to India on the east, and from Mæsia on the north to Crete on the south, and her language was known and spoken in these territories. The facilities of travel either by sea or land were not so well known or so well managed in those days as in our own, and the civilized habitable world was very small in extent, the distances being not so great either in going to her colonies or returning from them: yet the time expended must have been a barrier to the extension and cohesion of her empire. Besides many went out to settle for life in the new territories, and remain as permanent inhabitants and citizens on the new soil. In removing from the old country an ingenious method was devised and carried out, by which, if time lapsed in seeing or hearing from each other, they would be able to make known their kinship. Before the emigrants started on their long journey or voyage a stick was broken in two pieces, and one part remained with the old people and the traveller took possession of the other; and when they or their families or kindred came together again, after, it may be, many years, the sticks were produced, and if accurately fitting each other, it was a testimony that the holders were of the same kith and kin—a most simple and ingenious method, but quite different and unnecessary in our own times, and showing how much the world has advanced in “annihilating

time and space," discovering territories and continents of which the ancients had not the faintest idea of their existence. The introduction of steam as a motive power and electricity as a potential and illuminative and communicative agent has entirely revolutionized man's position as an inhabitant of the world, and seems in some measure, though unwittingly to realize the first command given to its two first inhabitants: "Increase and multiply and fill the earth, and be the supreme governors of it." The progress of mankind has been greatly accelerated by the use of the steam-engine, when in 1785 Watt perfected its construction by introducing many improvements in the structure, before which it was of little use, and its working was very imperfect; but since then it has remained, with some alterations, the chief motive power on land and sea.

Robert Fulton, in North America, was the first who applied steam as the motive power in the propulsion of vessels. This was in 1807, when he built a steamboat, the *Clermont*, and used it on the river Hudson for the conveyance of passengers; and from this small beginning the sea has become an easy road of communication between distant countries.

George Stephenson used the same power for swift locomotion on land, and now in all countries of any civilization, though there has been very great improvement in the machines and greater celerity in the speed, yet from the small run of ten miles an hour, now they can go easily fifty miles. He invented the first locomotive engine in 1814, and in 1825 it was used to carry passengers.

Dr. William Gilbert, of Colchester, was the first who, working on the inductive method, laid the basis of electric science, and in his book "*De Magnete*," published in 1600, he is "understood to have laid the foundation of all modern improvement in that branch of philosophy."

In 1844 Moore first used the telegraphic wire as a means of communication between Baltimore and Washington, and now Edison, in his laboratory at Llewellyn in New Jersey,



may by his inventive genius chain the erratic force of electricity by compelling it to become a humble servant in developing new sources of power and utility. Thus, we can note that these inventions are comparatively modern, and occupy but a small period in the world's history ; and man has subjugated the earth by the forces which have lain dormant in its bosom for thousands of years, using the sea as the great highway of commerce, and the air as the medium of swift communication by land or sea.

The *Rimataka*, an excellent boat of 7,765 tons, registered, and furnished with twin screws, received the majority of her passengers at Tilbury, at the mouth of the Thames, on February 26, 1904. A great assemblage of friends came on board the vessel to bid the passengers and emigrants a long farewell. A tug took them, as well as the passengers, to the vessel, and after the visitors had stayed an hour or two, adieus were said, and many tears shed over the breaking up of family ties, which in many instances would never be in person joined together again. Tilbury, though not a very large seaport, has a very ancient history, for here Claudius I., Emperor of Rome, landed his troops, defeated the ancient Britons, and extended his conquests to Camulodunum, and made a Roman province of Essex, in A.D. 43. Essex was the first province that received the Roman civilization, and from this vantage-ground Rome gradually extended her sway over the whole country, and Agricola, in A.D. 78, consolidated it by being made Consul and Governor of Britain, and, defeating the Picts and Scots, built a wall from the Clyde to the Forth to check the incursions of the northern barbarians. On the threatened approach of the Spanish Armada in 1588 Tilbury came again into notice, when Queen Elizabeth reviewed and harangued the troops under the command of her favourite, Leicester, who was Lieutenant-General of the army.

Leaving Tilbury in the afternoon, we skirted along the southern coast, and as darkness came on we could see the lights of the different towns in the distance on our way to

Plymouth, which we reached on the following forenoon. Plymouth was at one time the fourth largest city in the kingdom, and is still a large and prosperous seaport, and has a history and renown that any city of the kingdom might envy; for here the great historic sea-captains of that age went out to encounter and try the gauge of battle with probably the largest navy that ever before had floated on the ocean. Spain thought, with her large Armada of 130 big ships, she would completely overpower and destroy the little English navy of 80 small vessels, under the command of Drake, Hawkins, and others. However, it rather appeared like a goose attacking a hawk, for the Spanish ships had no chance with the nimble and active little vessels opposed to her. To withdraw from the fire of the little English squadron was the only means of safety, and this was done by steering for Calais, and also striking for the North Sea. A fierce tempest finished what Drake and his coadjutors had begun, and the huge Spanish vessels were wrecked on the rugged coasts of Scotland.

From this port also, on September 6, 1660, went the Pilgrim Fathers in the *Mayflower*, and landed at Plymouth Rock, in North America, on Christmas of the same year; and this little band, consisting of 74 men and 28 women, founded New England, and was amongst the first and chief English settlers in the North American continent. Plymouth has a very fine and large harbour, and many large vessels and war-ships were lying at anchor when we arrived.

Leaving Plymouth on February 27, after taking in more passengers and cargo, our next port of call was Tenerife (pronounced Ten-er-if-é), which we reached on March 3, and anchored in the bay of Santa Cruz, its chief town. As we continued to approach it; and viewed it from the steamer, it presented a very pleasant appearance, with its white houses and flat roofs, and when we came to anchor the boat was boarded by messengers from the hotels, and others selling all kind of fruits, of which oranges were the

chief. A big ferry-boat was soon alongside, and many took advantage of it to view the town and its chief objects of interest. The general idea that the town and its inhabitants give is that it is in a state of decadence compared with what we read of it about 200 years ago. It reminded me of Byron's lines on Greece, when he visited it at the beginning of last century, and found many of its famous cities abandoned and desolate.

"Wandering in youth, I traced the path of him,  
The Roman friend of Rome's lead mortal mind,  
The friend of Tully; as my bark did skim  
The bright blue waters with a fanning wind,  
Came Megara before me, and behind  
Ægina lay : Piræus on the right,  
And Corinth on the left : I lay reclined  
Along the prow, and saw all these unite  
In ruin, even as he had seen the desolate sight."

But it is not the town that shows so much decadence as its inhabitants, and it is melancholy to think that a town may show a want of resources and progress in its appearance, compared with its state two centuries ago, in its lack of energy and enterprise. The whole group of the islands has a delightful climate, and is most favourable for consumptive invalids, and restoration to health has even in serious cases been followed by complete recovery. Emigration takes place to a large extent in proportion to the population; and in 1883, 2,160 persons went from the islands to Cuba, and 1,248 to America, and it is said probably more than double that number may be the more correct figures.

In 1657 Admiral Blake came here in pursuit of the Spanish fleet of sixteen ships, which had taken shelter in the bay. A castle fortified on the shore and seven forts manned by musketeers united with the ships to oppose him. Don Diego Diaques, the Spanish Admiral, was commander of the Spanish forces, and an engagement took place which in four hours resulted in the entire destruction of the Spanish fleet, with all their treasure.

Nelson, in 1797, was less fortunate, for here he lost his right arm, and in the darkness his ships lost their way, and 250 of his men lost their lives, and some of his men were taken prisoners. He sent one of his captains to make an exchange of prisoners, but the Spanish Admiral at first refused, when a message was sent him that the whole town would be burnt down if they did not comply. This they soon did, and, after a friendly meeting with the Spanish Admiral, Nelson retired. Two English flags were found in the sea, and these are kept in the cathedral, and exhibited every year on July 25, the date of the battle and the birthday of St. James, the patron saint of Spain.

The streets as we went along were infested by beggars, who clamoured for "pennies," the only word they could say, and some invalids with sores exhibited them for eleemosynary purposes. The cathedral or chief church is a fine building, though plain on the outside, but has a fine appearance within, and it has many fine pictures illustrative of the entire life of Christ from the cradle to the grave, and other interesting memorials.

After remaining about the chief part of a day at Santa Cruz, we continued our journey southward, passing the Peak of Tenerife as we skirted its shore. The peak itself is the chief eminence of a range of hills that, as it were, divides the island, giving a serrated appearance to the whole range. The coast as we glided along had a bare and arid appearance, with several small gulleys running down to the sea, in which might be discerned a few houses in each. There was a slight covering of snow on the summit of the peak, and a cloud like a nightcap covered its highest elevation. The weather was warm and genial, and it was curious at this time of the year (March 3) to see a swift flying over the bay. A number of young boys who surrounded the vessel gave much amusement by diving in the deep water for the silver coins—the only coins visible in the water—which the passengers threw out to these expert swimmers. Fine shawls and other like small gar-

ments made by the hands of the natives found purchasers amongst the passengers.

After leaving Santa Cruz and Tenerife, we entered on quite a wilderness of waters, with nothing to interrupt the view of the vast watery expanse that surrounded us on all sides. The tedium of the voyage was lightened by various sports, and gave an interest to the onlookers, and in the evening music lent its charm to make us forget that Father Time was, on the waters, as a rule, very slow in his movements. Few, or very far between, were to be seen boat or even many fishes, though once we passed through an immense shoal of dolphins, which crowded and tumbled over each other. Flying fish were also in view, and excited a good deal of attention in viewing their airy flight as they skimmed over the surface of the water. Those which frequent these seas were larger and more numerous than those to be seen on the Atlantic, and kept longer on the wing. It is wonderful how the slightest incident occurring during the voyage rouses the attention of the passengers, and a solitary vessel or a large fish or two creates a diversion which is welcomed by all on board.

We had a very congenial and agreeable company in our second cabin, and we became soon conversant with each other, and could exchange our views on many topics like old friends. We were fortunate in having an excellent captain (Captain Greenstreet), who had for many years gone and returned by the route we had taken, and who did not spare himself in looking over and inspecting the vessel and its various sleeping berths, etc., every morning, and on the Sunday forenoons we met in the cabin, when he read the Church service and also a sermon, choosing appropriate hymns for the psalmody. In the evening also an English clergyman, who was also a passenger, finished the day with an appropriate address, and in this way the tedium of the Sunday, which is too common on board ship, was greatly lightened. Nor were his duties confined to Sunday, as he made himself a friend to all who needed his advice. He

was quite a model pastor and most excellent man, and a *piscator hominum*. We had, on the whole, fair and pleasant weather, and I found that the temperature ranged from 83° to 34° F., which last only occurred for a few days, when we had snow, with hailstones and sleet.

As we approached the Cape a flock of seabirds followed in our wake, and it was quite a novelty to see their graceful movements as they hovered around the boat, and hurried down to seize the broken fragments of victuals thrown from the steamer. Most of the passengers had never seen an albatross, yet here were many gliding along and following the boat, with no perceptible movement of their wings over a long distance. Other seabirds made quite a crowd of followers, all eager for the broken food thrown overboard after meals. A few albatrosses were shot, and we had a near view of this magnificent bird, with its irregular beak and its thick, lovely plumage. The wings of one were measured, and extended from tip to tip 6 feet 10 inches, and some are said to have an extent of wing equal to 15 feet.

We soon approached the Cape, and early in the morning of March 19 anchored in the bay. After some delay we were allowed to land, and were taken ashore in a tug. The town appears compressed along the shore, and, owing to Table Mountain, seems to have no expansion inland. This mountain is the first object that attracts the attention of the visitor, as its appearance is very like its name, with its straight line of rock in front, and is supported on either side by two craggy eminences—on its right the Lion's Head, and on the left the Devil's Peak. The harbour does not seem equal to the importance of the town, as we were kept in the open bay and had a tug to take us ashore, instead of landing us at the quay. The population is of a mixed variety, both white and black. The town has a few fine shops, and some new buildings were being erected, which will improve its appearance. Electric tram-cars pass every few minutes on the main street, and extend along the shore.

The Parliament House is on the hill, and opposite it is a fine park, well laid out, with many fine trees, shrubs, and flowers, giving an excellent shade and coolness to the many pedestrians who frequent it. We were only a few hours in the town, and were told to be back at the wharf punctually, as at this particular time we should be taken aboard in the tug. We all assembled at the appointed time, but had to wait in a broiling sun for more than half an hour before the functionary delegated to pass us on board made his appearance, with a large meerschaum pipe in his mouth, and evidently could not easily perform the two functions at once of smoking and calling over the names of the new passengers embarking here. I brought on board some fine white grapes, for which I paid only one shilling for five pounds, and other pleasant fruits are to be had in abundance. The country itself was in a very unsatisfactory condition, owing to the introduction of Chinese labour at the mines; and some British miners had been paid off, and came on board with sad tales of injustice done them in throwing them out of work.

On getting our complement of passengers we resumed our journey, followed by flocks of gulls and other birds, and the next land we came to was the Crozet Islands—a group of barren, rocky, volcanic isles, without a single house or inhabitant, situated in  $46^{\circ} 27'$  south and  $52^{\circ} 14'$  east. Birds were plentiful here, as they always are where there is any land for them to rest, and for the first time we saw some penguins (*Aptenodytes*), the strangest-looking feathered creatures possible, with wings having scales instead of feathers, and much more at home on the sea than they are on land. They are splendid swimmers, and their rate of progress through the water is swifter than the fastest steamer. Their bones are strong and thick, and not being hollow, do not contain air, as other birds, and the humerus and the femur have only oily matter inside. It is not easy to see much of them, as they keep well under the water-line, their heads being, as a rule, only visible. These

solitary islands gave much interest to the passengers, and were scanned by them with binoculars and telescopes to find some evidence of man's existence, but none was visible. They are seldom visited by passing vessels, and are dangerous from the sunken rocks that surround them. Any vessel wrecked here must have a bad time of it from lack of provisions and little chance of a vessel passing.

Hobart is one of the nicest towns in the Southern Hemisphere, being quiet but not dull, with a fine atmosphere, and a temperature neither too hot nor too cold during the year. It is well known as a fine climate for consumptive invalids, and many have received benefit from its pure air and health-inspiring winds. It has a neat and clean appearance, and has many good shops ; but its chief glory is its fruits, of which there is an infinite variety. You cannot find prettier apples anywhere, with their brilliant colouring. Oranges also are abundant, but a small maggot in some cases pierces the skin of the fruit, and spoils it as an article of merchandise. It has a museum, small, yet beautifully kept, with innumerable samples of the minerals and birds, etc., native to the place. There is not the bustle found in larger towns, yet I believe a good deal of business is done in this quiet, unpretentious city. It has a variety of scenery : lakes and streams of pure water, which are within easy distance of the city, and mountains, the highest of which are a little over 5,000 feet high. I had the advantage of visiting this capital city of Tasmania twice—once on coming from the old country, and a few weeks after in one of the handsome local steamboats. We fortunately arrived here in safety, after passing along the mouth of the Great Australian Bight, though the passage as a rule is somewhat stormy. We left here on April 8, and our next destination was New Zealand.

We had now left the last resting-place of our voyage, and the next place of land we should see would be the double island of New Zealand, with Wellington as the goal of our desires. We were full of hope and expectation that in a



few days we should see its lofty mountains, and we were not disappointed, as we had a most favourable passage, and the cry soon arose amongst the passengers, "New Zealand!" appearing as a chain of mountains in a thin, delicate haze. We had at last realized our chief desire, and, like the Grecian troops under Xenophon, when they fought their way through Asia, and beholding the Euxine or Black Sea, shouted to each other, "Thalatta! thalatta!" (The sea! the sea!), so we, animated with the same feelings, called to each other, "New Zealand! New Zealand!" We soon reached Wellington, its capital, and a gentleman came on board, who, by telegram from my brother-in-law, very kindly acted as my cicerone in seeing all the chief parts of the city. The telegram was more convenient than the broken stick which the Greeks used in their peregrinations to their kinsfolk. Wellington is a large and populous city, situated on the extreme south of the North Island, and here is the seat of government. Here also most of the passengers left, some to proceed by a coasting steamer to Lyttleton, on the South Island. It is said that man enters this world with a sigh and ends it with a groan, and in the mutations of life and the vicissitudes of his career many minor incidents of his life begin and end in the same way. It was a sorrowful experience to leave the old country, and even more sorrowful to bid farewell to friends at Wellington, whom one may never meet again. From Lyttleton I took the train to Timaru, and arrived there on the afternoon of April 4, where my relatives awaited me, and whom I now saw after a severance of about forty years. Timaru is a town of about 8,000 inhabitants. It is in the midst of an agricultural district; has a good harbour, capable of receiving vessels of high tonnage; extensive tracts of soil surrounding it; plenty of fish on its coast and in the river near; has a fine post and telegraph office; and is altogether a thriving town. It has a horse sale every Saturday, and some excellent horses are sold at a comparatively low price. Cereals are grown, and yield magni-

ficent crops—six feet high, with an exceedingly high percentage to the acre. The people are sober and industrious, and new houses are being constantly built for new-comers, and businesses of various sorts have a thriving trade. The houses composing the streets are built of stone or brick; those on the outskirts of wood, with a veranda surrounding them, and are soon finished by diligent workmen.

There is a monument erected near the post-office to some men who were drowned in a violent storm, when two vessels were wrecked in the harbour, and also one to the troops sent from here to the Boer War who perished in their defence of the Mother Country. Their fate was analogous to the men who fell at Chæronea in the Theban War, when Philip and Alexander the Great, then a young man of eighteen, overthrew the Grecian troops, and Macedonia became the ruling power in South-eastern Europe. Demosthenes, in his reply to Æschines when he was blamed for the fatal result of the action, replied in a poem, which might be applied to the South African struggle:

“These for their country’s arduous cause arrayed,  
In arms tremendous sought the fatal plain,  
Braved the proud foe with courage undismayed,  
And greatly spurned dishonour’s abject chain.

“Fair Virtue led them to the arduous strife,  
Avenging terror menaced in their eyes,  
For Freedom vainly prodigal of life,  
Death they esteemed their common glorious prize.

“For never to tyrannic vile domain  
Could they their generous necks ignobly bend,  
Or see their country drag the servile chain,  
And mourn her ancient glory at an end.

“In the kind bosom of the Colonial land,  
Ceased are their toils and peaceful is their grave,  
So Jove decreed, and Jove’s supreme command  
Acts unresisting to destroy or save.

“Chance to defy, and Fortune to control,  
Doth to the immortal gods alone pertain;  
Their joys unchanged through ceaseless circles roll,  
But mortals combat with their fate in vain.”

To go to the Antipodes and to take no notice of the Southern Cross would be reckoned an unpardonable sin, and we had the good fortune for many nights to see it ere we reached New Zealand. It is rather a small constellation of six stars, in shape like a boy's square kite, with a star at each corner, and two comprising the tail at an equal distance from each other. It is rather odd looking from its being an exact square, with the two stars as it were hanging from it, and is insignificant as compared with the northern constellation.

The great questions that were the chief topics of interest to the inhabitants of the colony from a Parliamentary point of view were the fiscal question and the liquor traffic, of which the latter was predominant; and the people seemed very much in earnest to check the drinking habits of the working class. In October, 1888, Mr. E. W. Payton published a book—"Round About New Zealand"—and at p. 180 he says, with regard to this question: "There seems to be something very maddening about the colony; from personal observation I am inclined to think it is the universal and excessive use of whisky which necessitates the enlargement of the great lunatic asylum on the sea cliff of the South Island. The worst characteristic of the lower-class colonists is undoubtedly their love of drink. We are accustomed to see a fair amount of drinking in England, but the beer-drinkers at home are decidedly mild compared to their Australasian brethren. Beer is used a good deal in the colonies, but the standard beverage of the steady drinker is whisky, and the quantity of the fluid that some can get through is astonishing. Drinking seems to be the one amusement of a section of the lower classes, and they are at it day and night when not in actual employment, and the money they spend in drink would seem incredible to English ears. As sure as one man meets an acquaintance whom he has not seen for a few days, or even hours, almost his first words are: 'Come and have a drink.' Treating to drink is a universal custom. When-

ever a man meets a friend there is no excuse wanted for turning into the nearest bar, as before they have been in conversation two minutes one is sure to ask the other: 'What'll you have?' Many men who can earn £3 a week and keep themselves on £1 will drink the remaining £2 regularly, and run into debt. The amount of harm done to the constitution by this excessive drinking will be better appreciated in future generations, and the amount of hard drinking one sees everywhere is a reproach to the colonies." Such is the testimony of an unbiassed witness sixteen years ago. Since then, I believe, a great advance has taken place in the outward sobriety of the colonists, as it is very rare now to see any drunkard during the day-time staggering through the streets. Prohibition, as far as it has gone, has therefore done some good, and Mr. Seddon has, I believe, done his utmost, so far as his power and influence can go, to make the population sober and industrious. Indeed, Mr. Seddon is quite a beau idéal Premier, and he is looked up to by the great majority of the New Zealanders as a statesman who will do anything in his power for the advancement, true progress, and sobriety of these islands; but we must not forget that this is one of the most difficult questions to settle at the present time. He reminds me of the character of Plato given by a writer on metaphysics, than which one would think that no two men could be more dissimilar. He says: "Though Plato was deficient in execution, he was large in design and magnificent in surmise. His pliant genius sets close to universal reality, as the sea fits in to all the sinuosities of the land. Not a shore of thought escapes his murmuring lip; over deep and over shallow he rolls on, broad, urbane, and unconcerned. To this day all philosophic truth is Plato rightly divined; all philosophic error is Plato misunderstood." To manage a Senate and give laws to the intellectual world would seem to bring two factors together impossible to be reconciled, yet the same laws of thought are exercised by the intellect in leading to a conclusive

inference and propositions which the mind may rely on as being true when tested by a severe process of logic. So in the everyday world the same kind of ratiocination may lead the politician to come to a conclusion regarding seemingly irreconcilable premisses, and evoke a true solution of an intricate and apparently insoluble problem. Such a problem may be wrought out in the management of the liquor traffic, and it is to be hoped that some means may be speedily devised to prevent the evils that arise from its abuse in producing poverty, domestic misery, and diseases which lead to a premature grave, and such a conclusion it is to be hoped that Mr. Seddon will be able to accomplish.

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NOTE.—In our next issue a continuation of this paper will appear.—Ed.

## THE ABSENCE OF ANGRA MAINYU FROM THE ACHÆMENIAN INSCRIPTIONS.\*

BY PROFESSOR LAWRENCE MILLS, D.D.

THE name of Angra Mainyu appears nowhere upon those sculptures. Does this defect, then, prove that the name was not at all in vogue at the time of execution of those records, or that it was unknown to their authors, in which case the entire lore of the Avesta, even in its outlines and its connections, must have been utterly unknown even to the higher literary circles? This question is of acute interest to all Biblical critics, for if it were conceivable that the name of the great Avesta Demon-god was not known to Darius, nor to his successors, then the all-vital point of the connection of the Avesta with our Bibles would be to a certain extent obscured. The Inscriptions, as we hold, are almost an integral part of our Bibles, so to express one's self, for reasons which no intelligent person can reject; and we now wish to prove that the Inscriptions are also almost an integral part of the Avesta. We have the Edicts of Cyrus, Darius, and their successors, as reported by our Scriptural authors in Chronicles and Ezra: and we have a closely analogous one cut upon the Babylonian Vase of Cyrus, and the tablets of Behistūn, etc., which are actually in hand-workmanship, almost in handwriting, and done contemporaneously with the original authors and at their personal command. Surely no serious expositor could for a moment henceforth think of putting pen to paper upon those passages without having learned all that it was possible for him to learn about these succinct annals upon the Tablets as well as in the Avesta. So much is absolutely sure and clear beyond dispute. The Inscriptions and the Edicts are almost parts of one and the same thing,

\* A question of the most immediate practical importance in the study of our Bibles.

and of the two in the eyes of critics the Inscriptions possess incalculably the greater force and claims to credence. *Is, then, the Avesta as near to the Inscriptions as the Inscriptions are near to the Edicts?* If they are, then every Bible teacher in the land may have a new source of information and illustration in his hand, which it is both his privilege and his duty to consult.

*Angra Mainyu is the most important name in the Avesta next after that of Ahura Mazda. If it does not occur upon the Inscriptions because it was not known, this would certainly show that the Avesta was just in so far totally strange to the authors of the Inscriptions, and the external historical connections of expressed ideas would be most certainly broken in one at least of their catenæ. As, then, the name of the Chief Demon of the Avesta does not appear upon the Tablets, was it not, therefore, absolutely unknown to their authors and to their public? Was such an ignorance as that suggested probable? is the question before us—nay, was it possible?*

#### THE OCCURRENCE OF THE NAME WAS INDEED TO BE EXPECTED.

*There is no doubt at all that there existed very especial reasons why this name, or one very closely akin to it, should be made use of in these severe denunciations, for such many of the sentences in the Inscriptions can only be described to be.*

The very diction seems to tremble with a fury, which it but half expresses in the vehemence of the writers, and in their concentrated animosities.

#### FIRST ANSWER TO THE OBJECTION.

My first answer is this. It is that this needed and so expected name *was substituted*, as I will shortly show below, by one immediately kindred to it, and for this we have a close analogy in the case of the work which it is our

very object to bring in as a basis of evidence. The striking Avesta name Angra Mainyu is *substituted in* the columns of the great Tablets, but so it is *also substituted* in the very Avesta texts themselves, and in places within them where we should most of all expect to see it.

#### ABSENCE OF THE NAME FROM LARGE SECTIONS OF THE AVESTA.

Do objectors who contravene the connection of the Inscriptions with the Avesta by urging upon us the absence of Angra Mainyu from the Inscriptions as an argument against all analogy between them and the Avesta really know what every incipient inquirer who takes any interest in these pursuits ought to know, which is that there are *lengthy passages in the Zend Avesta itself, page on page, and chapter after chapter* where that name does not occur; and this in a book of the Avesta whose very title describes it as most of all concerned with Satan's work, the Counter-devil Book,\* and in parts which are almost violent in their denunciations of demoniac things? Did the authors or re-writers who gradually compiled that book from Chapter IV. to Chapter IX., 12 inclusive, nearly one hundred pages of the translation in the Sacred Books of the East, not know that there existed in some Iranian man's religious beliefs and fears any such supposititious Being as He whose name occurs in the very first Chapter, say some sixteen times, and this with an emphatic and graphic iteration which has made the passages memorable even as mere literature, the allusions in the first Chapter having been repeated by those in an immediately following one, altogether some twenty times?

#### DIFFERING DATES OF SECTIONS CONSIDERED.

Or shall we establish a distinction such as most necessarily prevails as to parts of Genesis and say that the two

\* The Vi-d(a)ēva-dāta = Vendidad.



or more sets of composers in the Vendīdād were so wide apart as to time and space that the one, the later, actually did not *know* of the other, the prior, so presenting us with an additional reason for the omission?

#### MULTIPLICITY OF AUTHORS, AS OF COURSE.

The Vendīdād and all the rest of the Avesta except the Gāthas had authors and re-editors enough, as we need not mention; but no respected expert anywhere would think of suggesting that the re-writers of Vendīdād IV. to IX., 12, which are without the name of Angra Mainyu, were not familiar with their own first chapter, striking beyond measure as it is, and this simply because they do not continue on to re-echo the revolting Chief Demon's word. How much more completely would we stultify ourselves if we reasoned from his absence from these necessarily so shortened chiselled columns!\*

The name of the great Iranian Devil, which would be expected in denunciations, was omitted from the columns of the Inscriptions because it was substituted as we have said.

What was the nature of this substitution? Is it effective as an asset in my argument? Darius, to name him as the earliest of these Iranian Inscription writers, had a point of infinite significance to make, and he went straight to his mark, not dawdling over needless sounds. There was one chief work indeed of one leading Demon with which

\* Angra Mainyu does not occur once in the first eight chapters of the Yasna, though these are concerned with praises; but from Yasna IX., 19, where a new section begins, the name does not occur except in the Gāthas, on to Yasna LVIII., XII., (32), where it occurs once; from there on it does not occur until Yasna LXI., Spiegel LX., is reached (SBE XXXI., from page 236 to 312). See the index, which was not my work, and which I can therefore cite the more confidently. And from Yasna LXI. to the end of Yasna it never appears. It does not seem to occur once in the Visparad, and but once in the Srōsh Yasht. It does not occur in the Haptan Yasht, nor in the Ardibehisht Yasht, nor in the Khordād Aban, nor in the Srōsh Yasht Hādōkht, nor in the Rashn Yasht, not in pp. 252-291 in Darmesteter's Yashts, SBE XXIII. (see the index).

he had to do, and he fills his Inscriptions with it. He even uses the denominative verb form. That word is *Lied*, and it reverberates in cursing tones from the granite \* everywhere. We may simply claim that Angra Mainyu without the name is recalled, because the *Lie personified is his peculiar attribute*, and as personified *his chief agent* in Avesta. The Drauga of the old Persian represents that "falsehood" which is the one thing so bitterly opposed in the fierce though clumsy sentences, and the author works up its infamies, as Avesta does its sister's, for all that they are worth.

Adurujiya means literally "He did the lie," "acted druj-like." And this Drauga of Behistûn is Avesta "draogha" slightly varied, as draogha itself is but another form of "druj." And of all evil names in the entire three sections of Avesta this was the most significant and common. *Here, then, is the most emphatic Evil Word in all the Inscriptions likewise the very same and most emphatic Evil Term in all Avesta, while in this last extended lore it points out vituperatively the chief agent of the Evil God, whose name was needless upon the Inscriptions.* In the Inscriptions, as said, we have the verb-form of the name (the Druj), seldom the noun-form Drauga, and we have it everywhere. Is it likely that the authors of the Inscriptions were ignorant of an Angra Mainyu when they were making use at every column of the word which is used everywhere in Avesta to express his essential characteristic?

In the Zoroastrian Book, as on the Inscriptions, we have it at every turn where evil things come in; and in parts the repetitions become most vehement. There was nothing of the worst kind of evil, I was almost about to say, in the Avesta without the *druj* in verb, noun, or participle. Is it likely that while the Inscriptions and the Avesta are *actually one as to the very chief work of Angra Mainyu*, the author of the Inscriptions had never heard of that great God-devil, whose dreaded work—and doubtless, also, whose very name

\* Or other rock of Behistûn.

—was spread from India almost, if not quite, to Greece, and by his (the author's) own mighty conquests, as by those of his predecessor? For wherever he spread the name of Aüramazda, there beside it he hurled his curses upon the "Lie." See the Inscriptions throughout.

AN UNANSWERABLE FACT WHICH PROVES THAT THE AVESTA  
DEVIL'S NAME WAS KNOWN TO DARIUS' GOVERNMENT.

This proof is very simple. Among the names which appear so conspicuously at Behistūn stands Raga, distinguished in the Avesta as Ragha. Here a great rebel was defeated, and events of signal political importance of course took place.\* But for leagues round Raga the name of Angra Mainyu was continually uttered, while Darius' forces were still there, as no beginner anywhere can doubt. It was a *centre* of Avesta influence, and Avesta ideas were dominant; and among these the name and attributes of Angra Mainyu were bound up even with the chief ideas of Deity.

Did none of Darius' officers become conversant with the word, used frequently enough, we may be sure, by bands of the broken enemy to emphasize their fury; and this while they (Darius and his officers) were having close political business with that locality very frequently? Possibly at the very moment when the Inscriptions were being cut despatches from that province were daily coming in.

Is it, moreover, likely that a believed-in Personal Spirit, the Drauga, kindred to the Druj, who had a notorious Chief—in fact, a "separate Creator"—in Avesta, should not have had *any chief at all* in the religious scheme of the authors of the Inscriptions—a lonely sub-devil, as it were, and all without a friend; and this in a lore which was otherwise so close to the Avesta, where every angel as well as every devil has a chief? I should say that it was out of all proportion for us to suppose that there was no chieftain at

\* See Behistūn.

all over this Drauga of the Inscriptions. He or she had a chief demon over him or her, as we may indeed be sure, in the Inscriptions, just as the Draogha and Druj of the Avesta had a chief—nay, the Chief par-eminence—in their related lore.

And is it, then, probable, as I submit, that this Demon Chieftain should not be the *same Angra Mainyu* who figures in the Iranian books, and whose name has lived for ages, and was early spread over all Iranian Asia, not to speak of its range in India? Recollect what has been said already upon the various terms which are common to the two compositions, all striking, as they are, and, so to speak, exceptional Avesta words, and yet so familiar to the language of the Inscriptions, and so called for within the subjects handled, that they could not even be kept out of the narrow compass of the Behistūn columns, see above.

#### CONCLUSION AS TO THE POINT.

Can we, therefore, avoid the conclusion that the Chief Demon of the one book was altogether known to the authors of the other writings, though often out of mind? Is it natural for us to suppose that two records which coincide in a startling manner upon the name of God and upon His character—that is to say, upon His justice, His beneficence, His grace, etc., in expressions all singularly characteristic, with the same endeared and venerated name for Him, Ahura Mazda, should differ otherwise than accidentally or mechanically upon such a subject as His notorious Counterpart, His fell and necessary Companion—nay, His very “Twin”?\*

Above all, are we to suppose that not only the functionaries of Darius, but those of his entire dynasty much later on and even up to the year 358 B.C. (about), should actually have not known of the existence of such a title, a very curse-word or swear-word, sounded in anathemas throughout the entire middle north of the Empire? The supposition is not tenable.

\* *Sic*; see Yasna XXX., XLV.

# MR. WICKREMASINGHE'S EPIGRAPHIA ZEYLANICA.\*

BY H. C. NORMAN, B.A. (OXON.), BODEN SCHOLAR  
OF SANSKRIT.

FROM the seventeenth century onwards, classical scholars have been fully alive to the fundamental importance of inscriptions, both as confirming and supplementing the accounts which have been left us by ancient historians. It would be interesting to speculate how much of scientific ancient history would be left us had its modern writers been compelled to work without the aid of the magnificent collections of Greek and Roman inscriptions which have been so carefully collected and so critically edited, or had they not had before them such monuments of bygone centuries as the tablets of the Babylonian and Assyrian Kings, the Behistûn records, and the Rosetta stone. History would have been forced to content itself with partial and fragmentary accounts, often culled at second-hand from sources of no authority. An inscription of proved authenticity, on the other hand, brings us face to face with the past and makes history a thing of life.

In no country has epigraphy opened up vistas so wide as in India and Ceylon. Anyone who has endeavoured to win some definite system of chronological sequence from only the literary documents of India knows how desperate the task is, so much so that the historical sense has been denied to exist in the Indian mind by many competent observers. One thing at least is certain, that in no Indian chronicle can we repose the confidence with which we may regard the historical works of Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, or even Livy. In none of these authors can we say that there prevails mere wanton myth-making for its own sake, while in avowedly historical works of Indian origin

\* "Archæological Survey of Ceylon. Epigraphia Zeylanica—Lithic and other Inscriptions of Ceylon." Edited and translated by Don Martino de Silva Wickremasinghe. Vol. I., Part I. London, 1904.

this is the preponderant characteristic. Whatever may have been the cause, whether the fatalistic tendency of the Indian philosophy or the narrow sectarianism of a Brahminical reaction, the painful fact is eternally confronting us, that of historical treatises properly so called India is entirely destitute.

All honour is therefore due to the select band of students who, stimulated by the epoch-making decipherments of the indefatigable and learned Prinsep, have brought to light so many records of a past which had seemed to be hopelessly dead for us. Since the discovery and translation of the Aśoka inscriptions, a flood of light has been thrown upon Indian history by the labours of scholars like Cunningham, Burgess, Bhagvānlāl Indrajī, Fleet, Bühler, Hoernle, Kielhorn, and Rapson. Human forms are beginning to step upon the stage of history and take the place of the misty abstractions of a chaotic mythology. Much of what was merely probable reasoning has received its confirmation, much more has received its death-blow, from the inscriptions to be found in the splendid volumes of the "Epigraphia Indica" and in the "Indian Antiquary."

It was a very happy thought on the part of the Ceylonese Government to bring out an edition of inscriptions found on the island, on the lines of the "Epigraphia Indica." For Ceylon, with its well-preserved continuity of Buddhistic tradition, is most important from the historical standpoint. When Buddhism by a process of senile decay had lost its hold on India, it was Ceylon especially, the foster-mother of Buddhaghosa, that preserved intact the sacred writings of the Buddhist faith. It is also round Ceylon that centre the two chronicles, the Dipavaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa, which were for a long time the sole aids of scholars for the history of ancient India and Ceylon. From Ceylon, therefore, we have every reason to expect much fresh information, not only as regards Buddhism, but also as to matters Indian generally.

The task of editing such a corpus is peculiarly difficult.

There are many varieties of language and dialect ; there are many divergent alphabets. The records have in many cases been defaced or obliterated entirely by time, and the hiatus left can be filled up by conjecture only. In compensation, the Government of Ceylon has secured the services of an epigrapher, of rare industry and skill in the person of Mr. Wickremasinghe, to whose labours we owe the first instalment of the "*Epigraphia Zeylanica*." We doubt if anyone else so competent could have been selected to fill the post, for, in addition to a complete mastery of Sinhalese (his native tongue), the editor possesses a knowledge of Tamil, Sanskrit, Pali, and the various Prākritis, a perfect endowment for a work of this kind. When one reflects that sometimes a single line, often a single word, may require many hours for its decipherment, one can only feel amazed at the results obtained practically single-handed by the editor. Even the most cursory observer could not fail to be impressed by the labour implied in the copious index and the lengthy notes on questions of importance. And the excellent plates give one a fair idea of the difficulties involved in deciphering these "antient writings that poseth all that see them," as the old traveller Knox described them. But these difficulties are now to vanish before the perseverance of an editor, who is not only perfectly familiar with his subject, but has been well trained in the critical principles of Western scholarship.

Turning to the work itself, the first inscription is one which was found at Anurādhapura, and has been christened the Jetavanārāma Inscription. It is in Sanskrit, and its alphabet belongs to the North Indian type, of which it is the first example discovered so far south. As it approximates most closely to the Magadha Nāgarī, which was current in the ninth century A.D., the inscription may be dated at about this time. What we have is only the second half of the inscription. It is written in Sanskrit prose, and is correct in grammar and clear in style. Its

matter consists of regulations for monks and laymen dwelling under the jurisdiction of a Buddhistic monastery. One of the most interesting provisions is that which insures a regular auditing of the monastic accounts by competent persons. Other items are the determination of culpability for offences, character of residents, provisions for repairs and breach of contracts, and the constitution of a monastery, one hundred monks made up of twenty-five from each of the four great Nikāyas or fraternities. The inscription introduces to us six very uncommon words : *Pālikā*, a prescribed allowance ; *Civarikā*, prescribed number of robes ; *Padālāyikā*, matter of dispute ; *Vārika*, a holding ; *Kiri*, a measure of grain ; and *Parivahana*, a lay warden. Its general interest lies in the light which it throws on the Government and constitution of a Buddhist monastery in the tenth century of our era.

We next come to a group of inscriptions found at Vessagiri in Anurādhapura, and called after the place of discovery the Vessagiri Inscriptions. The various native traditions as to the origin of the name have been well summarized by the editor. There are three classes of these inscriptions, according as they are written on caves, rocks, or slabs. The interesting fact about the cave inscriptions is that they are written in the "Brāhmī Lipi," and the following points should also be noted :

1. These are the oldest Sinhalese inscriptions yet discovered written in this character, and they contain some of the oldest types side by side with later forms.

2. Down to the close of the second century A.D. there may be traced in the old Sinhalese inscriptions a development closely similiar to that which took place in India—especially Western and Central India. The editor, therefore inclines to the theory that old Sinhalese is closely allied to the dialects of Western or Central India.

Further, a comparison with the Tōnigala Inscription (B.C. 80) would point to this inscription being later than the ones before us, for we have certain letters closer to



those of the Aśoka inscriptions. The Tōnigala Inscription is more advanced and cursive, and has only one form of the *s* and *m*, while we here have two. This and other evidence may make the inscriptions as old as the famous Duṭṭhagāmaṇī. In regard to phonology and grammar, there deserve to be noted the shortening of the long *a*, the deaspiration of consonants, the making single of double consonants, the loss of intermediate nasals, and the substitution of *h* for *s*, as in the genitive singular, for example. Examples of all these peculiarities have been found in India. There is also the noteworthy omission of the genitive suffix of a word in appositional or attributive relationship, which has its parallels in Sanskrit. As regards special words, we think the editor is right in taking *parumaka* as equivalent to Sanskrit *paramaka*. Professor Geiger suspects a connection with *mukha*—wrongly we think, as *pramukha* would naturally give only *pamukha*, or, by deaspiration, *pamuka*. Other interesting words are *jhita*, the old Pali form of Sanskrit *duhitā*, and the Tamil *marumakan*, a son-in-law or nephew.

The rock inscriptions contain a number of proper names, and are of not much interest. We would like to suggest that the name *Yahaśini* = Sanskrit *Yaśasvinī*.

Among the slab inscriptions there is a very good one of Dappula V. (A.D. 940-952). It is written in very flowery Sinhalese, and records a pious gift by that monarch of 200 kalandas. The orthography presents certain curious peculiarities in the treatment of the nasals. For the form *sanahay* the editor suggests two derivations—from *snih* and from *snā*. Phonetically that from the former is preferable. *Vatura*, a flow of water, presents difficulties, but the form *vartarūka*, found in Hemacandra has much to recommend it. The editor's note on the word *vasaga* is also deserving of careful study. The second slab has two inscriptions of Mahinda IV. (A.D. 975-991). The object is to provide with water the vihāra built by Kassapa the parricide (A.D. 479-497).

The book concludes with the Abhayagiri copper-plate inscription in North Indian Nāgarī of the second half of the tenth century.

Although the contents of the work may seem to the inexperienced eye somewhat meagre, we should like to insist on the fact that it is quality, and not quantity, of work which a discriminating critic will lay stress upon. We repeat that, considering the great difficulties which he has had to overcome, Mr. Wickremasinghe has performed a signal service to Indian studies, and we confidently look forward to more work of the same kind from him. We cannot conclude without a word of praise for the format of the work, which reflects the utmost credit upon the Clarendon Press and Messrs. Griggs. Everything has been done in the most beautiful and exact manner, and we trust that the Ceylon Government will vigorously continue the work which they have so wisely begun.

## TOLERATION IN ISLAM:

THE CHARTER OF THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD TO THE  
CHRISTIANS, AND THAT OF THE CALIPH ALI TO  
THE PARSEES.\*

BY ABDULLAH AL-MÂMÛN AL-SUHRAWARDY.

It is an irony of fate that Islam, the only religion that derives its name from a word signifying "peace," "perfection," and "self-surrender," is identified in the popular mind with the sword, with aggression, and with self-assertion. Perhaps the smouldering fire of fierce hatred and undying animosity kindled in the bosom of Christendom during the dark days of the Crusades is at the root of the prejudice which associates Islam with bloodshed, and sometimes blinds even scholars to its merits as a humanizing agency. Nevertheless, it is a faith which has made, more than any other, for the unity and solidarity of the human race and the diffusion of a truly humanitarian spirit. It has been justly remarked† that in a comparatively rude age, when the world was immersed in darkness, moral and social, Muhammad preached those principles of equality which are only half-realized in other creeds, and promulgated laws which, for their expansiveness and nobility of conception, would bear comparison with the records of any faith. "Islam," says David Urquhart, "offered its religion, but never enforced it; and the acceptance of that religion conferred co-equal rights with the conquering body, and emancipated the vanquished States from the conditions which every conqueror, since the world existed up to the period of Muhammad, had invariably imposed." The "democratic thunder" of the Hermit of Hira was the signal of the uprising of the human intellect against the tyranny

\* Read at the Second International Congress of the Histories of Religions held at Bâle, August, 1904.

† *The Spirit of Islam*, by Ameer Ali.

of priests and rulers. In "that world of wrangling creeds and oppressive institutions," where the human soul was crushed under the weight of unintelligible dogmas, and the human body trampled under the tyranny of vested interests, he broke down the barriers of caste and exclusive privileges. He swept away with his breath the cobwebs which self-interest had woven in the path of man to God. He abolished all exclusiveness in man's relations to his Creator. "His thoroughly democratic conception of the Divine government, the universality of his religious ideal, his simple humanity, all affiliate him," says Johnson, "with the modern world."

Islam is the only religion in the world that can boast of having freed its followers from the thralldom of a priesthood, in itself no small claim to the gratitude of mankind. Perfect equality reigns in the mosque, no distinction being made in the house of God between the rich and the poor, the white and the black.

As a Muslim may be naturally suspected of partiality or exaggeration, I have preferred in this paper to quote the opinions of non-Muslim scholars, and to place before the audience facts which speak for themselves.

In the twentieth century the Christian nations have so fully realized the equality and brotherhood of man that democratic America, "whilst professing to believe that the God they worship incarnated Himself in the form of a dark man," nevertheless delights in roasting alive a Christian negro for marrying a Christian white woman. Even in this age of enlightenment, cultured Europe, bending in adoration before the image of the Great Jew, pursues His kinsmen with an unrelenting hatred that knows no abatement even when, abjuring his sublime and simple creed, the spurned Semite swallows the dogmas of Christianity. Let us, however, draw a veil over the valiant deeds of the followers of the meek and lowly Jesus, and listen to the testimony of a non-Muslim to the fraternal force of the creed of Muhammad.

"The brotherhood of all Muslims is one of the strongest influences that make for the propagation of the faith. Islam is a kind of caste or freemasonry. Once you are admitted to it, you are the equal before God of everyone else within it, and the superior of all outside it. Mr. Meredith Townsend has noted the effect of this brotherhood upon the Hindu convert. 'The missionaries of Islam,' he writes, 'did not and do not ask him to abandon caste, but only to exchange his caste for theirs, the largest, the most strictly bound, and the proudest of all, a caste which claims not only a special relation to God, but the right of ruling absolutely the remainder of mankind. Once in this caste, the Hindu convert would be the brother of all within it, hailed as an equal, and treated as an equal, even up to that point on which European theories of equality always break down, the right of intermarriage. John Brown, who died gladly for the negro slave, would have killed his daughter rather than see her marry a negro; but the Muslim will accept the negro (Muslim) as son-in-law, as friend, or as King.' Is there anyone of us who would do the like for an Armenian Christian, let alone a negro? This theory—but it is more than theory—this *fact* of the brotherhood and equality of all Muslims is a most powerful element in Islam. It gives each member a dignity and independence and self-respect which it were hard to find in any other system" (Stanley Lane-Poole).

Destroying root and branch all "colour and race questions," Islam has established a vast confraternity, stretching from the pillars of Hercules to the Great Wall of China. This is an example of tolerance at home, a lesson which Christianity has yet to learn. But the tolerant spirit of Islam, though beginning at home, flows far beyond its pale, and despite the time-worn thesis of "the Koran and the Sword," we have ample evidence of its humane treatment of the professors of other creeds. The conquering Muslims never offered the alternative of the "Koran or the Sword." They required from others a simple guarantee of peace and amity, tribute in return for protection, or perfect equality—the possession of equal rights and privileges on condition of the acceptance of Islam. Muhammad did not merely preach toleration: he embodied it into a law. To all conquered nations he offered liberty of worship. A nominal tribute, and that, too, in lieu of military service, was the only compensation they were required to pay for the observance and enjoyment of the faith. Once the tax or tribute was agreed upon, every interference with their religion or the liberty of

conscience was regarded as a direct contravention of the laws of Islam. Christians and Jews, as a rule, have never been molested in the exercise of their religion, or constrained to change their faith. If they are required to pay a special tax (*jizyah*) in lieu of military service, it is but right that those who enjoy the protection of the State should contribute in some shape to the public burdens. The expulsion or extermination of the Jews of Medinah was the result of political necessity, brought about by their constant seditiousness, and not that of religious bigotry and fanaticism. Proselytism by the sword was wholly contrary to the instincts of Muhammad, and wrangling over creeds his abhorrence. Repeatedly he exclaims, "Why wrangle over that which you know not? Try to excel in good works. When you shall return to God, He will tell you about that in which you have differed."

The essence of the political character of Islam is to be found in the charter granted to the Jews by the Prophet after his arrival in Medinah, and the notable message sent to the Christians of Najrân and the neighbouring territories after Islam had fully established itself in Arabia. This latter document has, for the most part, furnished the guiding principle to all Muslim rulers in their mode of dealing with their non-Muslim subjects, and if they have departed from it in any instance the cause is to be found in the character of the particular sovereign.\* This guarantee of the Prophet runs as follows:

"To (the Christians of) Najrân and the neighbouring territories, the security of God and the pledge of His Messenger are extended for their lives, their religion, and their property—to the present, as well as to the absent and others besides, there shall be no interference with (the practice of) their faith or their observances, nor any change in their rights or privileges; no bishop shall be removed from his bishopric, nor any monk from his monastery, nor any priest from his priesthood, and they shall continue to enjoy everything great and small as heretofore; no image or cross shall be destroyed; they shall not oppress or be oppressed; they shall not practise the rights of blood-vengeance as in the Days of

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\* *The Spirit of Islam*, chap. vii.

Ignorance ; no tithes shall be levied from them, nor shall they be required to furnish provisions for the troops" (Balazuri, "*Futûh-al-Buldân*," p. 65 ; also Imâm Abu Yusuf, "*Kitâb-al-Khirâj*," p. 84).

We are told that about the year 6 of the Hegirah, the Prophet granted to the monks of the monastery of St. Catherine, near Mount Sinai, and to all Christians, a charter which has been designated as one of the noblest monuments of enlightened tolerance that the history of the world can produce. The whole charter, with a Latin translation, was given to Europe in 1630 by Gabriel Sionita (British Museum, 63, 1, 16). The Latin version differs, in places, from the Arabic original, but even in the Latin translation the charter displays a marvellous breadth of view and liberality of conception. It is binding on all the Muslims, "sovereign or other Muslims, wherever they be, till the day of judgment." It was transcribed by Muâwiyah, son of Abû Sufyân, at the dictation of the Prophet, on Monday the last day of the fourth month of the fourth year of the Hijrah (Hegirah), and therefore, of course, in Medinah. It bears the name of thirty-five witnesses, leading "companions" of the Prophet, like Abû Bakr, Omar, Othman, Ali, etc.

By it the Prophet secured to the Christians privileges and immunities which they did not possess even under sovereigns of their own creed ; and declared that any Muslim violating and abusing what was therein ordered should be regarded as a violator of God's testament, a transgressor of His commandments, and a slighter of His faith. He undertook himself, and enjoined on his followers, to protect the Christians, to defend their churches, the residences of their priests, and to guard them from all injuries. They were not to be unfairly taxed ; no Bishop was to be driven out of his bishopric ; no Christian was to be forced to reject his religion ; no monk was to be expelled from his monastery ; no pilgrim was to be detained from his pilgrimage ; nor were the Christian churches to be pulled down for the sake of building houses or mosques for the Muslims. Christian women married to Muslims were

to enjoy their own religion, and not to be subjected to compulsion or annoyance of any kind on that account. If the Christians should stand in need of assistance for the repair of their churches or monasteries, or any other matter pertaining to their religion, the Muslims were to assist them. This was not to be considered as taking part in their religion, but as merely rendering them assistance in their need, and complying with the ordinances of the Prophet which were made in their favour by the authority of God and of His Apostle. Should the Muslims be engaged in hostilities with outside Christians, no Christian resident among the Muslims should be treated with contempt on account of his creed. Any Muslim so treating a Christian "should be accounted recalcitrant to the Prophet." That the Muslims for a long time adhered to the terms of this charter is best evidenced by the following extract from a letter of the Jacobite patriarch, Jesujab III., a contemporary of the third Caliph, addressed to Simeon, the Metropolitan of Ravarshir and Primate of Persia\* :

"Alas, alas ! Out of so many thousands who bore the name of Christians, not even one single victim was consecrated unto God by the shedding of his blood for the true faith. Where, too, are the sanctuaries of Kirman and all Persia ? . . . And the *Taji* (Arabs), to whom God at this time has given the empire of the world, behold, they are among you, as ye know well : and yet they attack not the Christian faith, but, on the contrary, they favour our religion, do honour to our priests and the saints of the Lord, and confer benefits on churches and monasteries. Why, then, have your people of Merv abandoned their faith for the sake of these Arabs ? and that, too, when the Arabs, as the people of Merv themselves declare, have not compelled them to leave their own religion " (Assemani, "Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana," tom. iii., Pars Prima, pp. 130, 131).

The British Museum has another interesting document (14,144, i. 3), supposed to be granted by the Caliph Ali to Azarbad Mahr Isfand Behramshad b. Kheradroos, and to the whole Parsee nation. Mr. Sorabjee Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, the translator of this document into Gujerati, has collected collateral evidences to the same effect from other Persian sources. Amongst other works he mentions the "Habīb-

\* *The Preaching of Islam*, by T. W. Arnold.



al-Siyar," the "Manākib-i-Murtazavi," and the "Jila-al-'Oyūn," as containing the testament. I regret that I have no time to compare and check the references.

The Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the India Office Library, vol. i. (p. 75, No. 169), refers to the above charter in the following terms :

"Three documents of historical interest, in Arabic with Persian paraphrase, viz. :

"1. A deed or *Ahdnama* of the Prophet, addressed to Mahdi Faruh b. Shakhsân, the brother of the well-known Salmân the Persian, written by Ali b. Abū Tālib on a red skin.

"2. A letter of the Caliph Ali to the Parsee high-priest Bahramshâh, written by Ali's son, Husain, A.H. 39 (A.C. 659,660).

"3. The letter of emancipation by which the Prophet declared Salmân the Persian, whom he had bought from a Jew, Uthman b. Ashhal, to be free."

On folios 418*a* and 419*b* is an interesting account of the discovery of these documents according to the Tārīkh-i-Barguzidah, in a library at Surat, A.H. 1064 (A.C. 1,654), by the Parsee Nana Bha, son of Punjiya, son of Piyan. This is a free rendering of the testament :

"I give you security of person, property, family and children, and give you the pledge of God and the guarantee (*Zimmah*) of His Messenger Muhammad, and I command such of the company of the faithful as are invested with the government of provinces, the strivers in the path of God, etc., and are obedient to God and His Messenger, to protect you, to defend you, to deal gently with you, to do good to you, and to guard you against oppression. I exempt you, your children and your posterity from the payment of the poll-tax (*jizyah*), and that of the tithes (*Sadakah*) on your cattle. I give you free hand in the management of your places of worship and the lands and property, etc., dedicated to them, and in the building of such as stand in need of repair. I confirm the custom prevalent amongst you. . . . Wherefore it is incumbent on the faithful, men and women, the Muslims, men and women, to guard the interests of Behram the Magian (which are his due) according to the custom prevalent amongst them, and not to change their rights and privileges or any covenant with them ; to honour the noble and to pardon the evil-doer amongst them ; never to demand poll-tax (*jizyah*) from them or from their posterity ; and not to

subject them to compulsion on account of their religion, as God says, 'There is no compulsion in matters of faith : right is plainly distinguishable from wrong !' Let the generality of Muslims know that this is my command, and let them hearken to my testament with respect to them (the Parsees), and their posterity whether they embrace Islam or remain in their faith. Whoever accepts my orders for him the goodwill of God and His Messenger, whoever disobeys opposes me and incurs the displeasure of God and His Messenger. Peace be unto you, and may God have mercy on you. Given in the month of Rajab, A.H. 39."

It may be urged that this testament is a forged document. For reasons which I cannot give here I am inclined to favour the view that it is a forgery. But at the same time I venture to think that there must have existed, at least in the memory of the Muslims, a genuine document of this nature, whose existence, actual or reputed, inspired these forgeries. "The blood of the Zimmi is like the blood of the Muslim," is a saying of Ali's. In a letter to Mâlik-al-Ashtar, Governor of Egypt, concerning the government of that country, the Caliph Ali urges him "to let his heart feel mercy, love, and gentleness for the subjects," and exhorts him "not to be unto them a ferocious beast of prey, deeming it a splendid opportunity to devour them ; for they are of two sorts—*either thy brethren in faith or thy equal in creation*" (British Museum, 14,555, b. 18).

It is not improbable that this humane and chivalrous Caliph, "the Gate of the City of Knowledge," who had thoroughly assimilated the teachings of the Master, granted such a charter to the kinsmen of his daughter-in-law, a document not in the least contrary to the spirit of Islam. But I am sure the learned Dastur, Rustomji Edulji Sanjana, will be able to throw more light on the subject.

We need not, however, rely on these documents to prove the tolerant spirit of Islam. The opinions of some non-Muslim scholars,\* not wholly free from the influence of the "Koran and the Sword" theory, are worth quoting :

"Les musulmans sont les seuls enthousiastes qui aient uni l'esprit de tolérance avec le zèle du prosélytisme, et qui, en prenant les armes, pour propager la doctrine de leur prophète, aient permis à ceux qui ne

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\* Quoted by J. La Beaume in his *Le Koran Analyzé*.

voulaient pas la recevoir de rester attachés aux pratiques de leur culte" (Robertson : " Histoire de Charles Quint ").

" Le Koran, qui commande de combattre la religion avec l'épée est tolérant pour les religieux. Il a exempté de l'impôt les patriarches, les moines, et leurs serviteurs. Mohammed défendit spécialement à ses lieutenants de tuer les moines, parceque ce sont des hommes de prière. Quand Omar, s'empara de Jérusalem, il ne fit aucun mal aux chrétiens. Quand les croisés se rendirent maîtres de la ville sainte, ils massacrèrent sans pitié les musulmans et brûlèrent les juifs " (Michaud : " Histoire des Croisades ").

" Il est triste pour les nations chrétiennes que la tolérance religieuse, qui est la grande loi de charité de peuple à peuple leur ait été enseignée par les musulmans. C'est un acte de religion que de respecter la croyance d'autrui et de ne pas employer la violence pour imposer une croyance " (L'Abbé Michou, " Voyage religieux en Orient ").

Turning to the Koran, that pure fountain-head of Islam, we find it abounding in passages breathing the spirit of justice, humanity, and love. I do not want to burden my paper with quotations from the Koran, but I may be permitted to cite a few texts.

" Verily," says the Koran, " those who believe (the Muslims) and those who are Jews, Christians, or Sabæans, whoever hath faith in God and the last day (future existence), and worketh that which is right and good, for them shall be the reward with their Lord ; there will come no fear on them ; neither shall they be grieved."

The same sentiment is repeated in similar words in the fifth Sûrah, and a hundred other passages prove that Islam does not confine " salvation " to the followers of Muhammad alone :

" To every one have we given a law and a way. . . . And if God had pleased, He would have made you all (all mankind) one people (people of one religion). But He hath done otherwise, that He might try you in that which He hath severally given unto you : wherefore press forward in good works. Unto God shall ye return, and He will tell you that concerning which ye disagree."

" It would appear," says F. F. Arbuthnot, " that Muhammad really hoped to establish one religion, acknowledging one God and a future life, and admitting that the earlier prophets had emanated from God as apostles or messengers. The world was too young and too ignorant in Muhammad's

time to accept such an idea. It may, however, be accepted 'some day when knowledge overcomes prejudice. Nations may have different habits, manners, and customs, but the God they all worship is one and the same."

All lovers of humanity yearning for a deeper and wider brotherhood of mankind earnestly hope that the day is not far distant, and with the dawn of that day shall begin the conflict between Ahriman and Ormuzd, between light and darkness, between the worshippers of mind and those of matter, between physics and metaphysics, and after a deadly struggle the fittest shall survive. In the meanwhile let us say, in the words of the Koran :

"Verily they who believe (Muslims), and the Jews, and the Sabæans, and the Christians, and the Magians, and those who join other gods with God (heathens), verily God shall decide between them on the day of Return : verily God is witness over all things.

"Seest thou not that all in the heavens and all on the earth adoreth God? The sun, and the moon, and the stars, and the mountains, and the trees, and the beasts, and many among men " (xxii. 17).

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting held at the Westminster Palace Hotel on Tuesday, December 13, 1904, a paper was read by Sir W. Mackworth Young, K.C.S.I., on "The Progress of the Punjab." Sir James Lyall, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., in the chair. Amongst those present were: Sir William Vincent, Bart., Sir George Young, Bart., Sir Roland K. Wilson, Bart., General Sir A. R. Badcock, K.C.B., C.S.I., Major-General Sir A. J. F. Reid, K.C.B., I.C.S., Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick, K.C.S.I., Sir Frederick Fryer, K.C.S.I., Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E., Major-General R. Wace, C.B., Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., Raizada Hans Raj, Colonel Oswald Menzies, Colonel Loch, C.I.E., Colonel Dyson Lawrie, Colonel B. Chamney Graves, Major C. M. Dallas, Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Mr. Lesley Probyn, C.M.G., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mrs. Glass, Mr. S. S. Thorburn, Mr. and Mrs. T. Durant Beighton, Mr. and Mrs. Aublet, Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Sheikh Abdul Qadir, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. B. Gangoly, Miss Webster, Mr. J. S. McConechy, Miss Sheepshanks, Mr. Dost Mahomad, Mr. F. C. Channing, Mr. G. M. Young, Mr. S. Digby, Mr. A. G. Wise, Mr. Naranjun Hosein, Mr. Turton Smith, Mr. Hormuz, Mr. S. H. Ahmad, Mr. H. G. Hart, Mr. H. Hebbert, Mr. T. W. Smythe, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mrs. Richard E. Kennedy, Mr. W. Martin Wood, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Sec.

The CHAIRMAN said that when Sir Mackworth Young asked him to take the chair, he did not ask why he had been chosen instead of some more conspicuous person, supposing it was because they had been schoolboys together, and afterwards, for some thirty years, brother officers in the Punjab, where their work often brought them into very close relations. Whereas he himself left Eton early, Sir Mackworth stayed on until he became the head boy of that famous old school, and then from Cambridge passed through the open competition examination into the Indian Civil Service, and so followed him to the Punjab. Sir Mackworth could claim a most thorough knowledge of the province, having served in it in various offices, and in every office he held he had shown courage, energy, and ability, finishing as Lieutenant-Governor. The sincere goodwill to the people which he showed, and his combination of plain-speaking with great courtesy, had made him popular with all classes of Punjabis, and he was confident that anything Sir Mackworth could tell them about the Punjab would deserve their careful attention.

The paper was then read.\*

\* See paper elsewhere in this *Review*.

The CHAIRMAN, observing that Sir Mackworth had given to his paper the title of "The Progress of the Punjab," said he had shown in the paper a very considerable amount of progress under certain heads. For example, in irrigation and colonization the Punjab showed more striking progress in the period under review than all the rest of India put together. In education, too, there had been great progress, both in university education and other kinds. The establishment of the Local Legislative Council was also an item of decided progress, and it was satisfactory to know that the Council had begun well by passing three local Acts, which were said to be useful. He agreed with Sir Mackworth Young that the time had come when the right of interpretation should be granted to the local Council. As had been seen, higher education had greatly progressed, and it was his own opinion that amongst the uneducated portion of the Punjab population there was an amount of common-sense and openness of mind such as was not to be found in other parts of India. Having been sent out to India in 1898 as President of the Commission to inquire into the famine, and to compare the methods of relief used in the different provinces, and give an opinion and comparison of the results, he could only say that the Commission considered that the system of relief adopted in the Punjab was much in advance of anything that had previously been seen in the province, and that Sir Mackworth Young's arrangements were good and liberal without being wasteful and more efficient in saving life than the measures taken in other provinces. At the same time, he must say it was easier to save the Punjabi than the Madras or native of any other province. The Punjabi helped one by trying to help himself. He would not say anything about the plague operations, feeling quite unable to oppose a man of Sir Mackworth Young's authority, who had had to conduct operations on a very large scale; but having been in India during the plague, and having watched the operations in more than one province, his idea was—and this idea the Government of India eventually adopted—that it was not expedient to push the operations further than they could get the consent of the people to them, and he doubted very much whether, if it had been necessary to introduce such operations into the houses of Europeans either in India or any other country, they would have tolerated them any more than the Indians did. With regard to the passing of the Punjab Alienation Act by the Imperial Legislature, he could not agree with Sir Mackworth that it was a retrogressive measure, nor share in the gloomy results he anticipated. He was of opinion that there had been a great danger which had called for immediate legislation, and that it was better on the whole that that legislation should be strong, as it could always be relaxed if it should be found necessary. As to Sir Mackworth's remark that the land hunger so prevalent in the Punjab proved that agriculture was an exceedingly good business, he thought that argument could easily be pushed too far, as land hunger was a remarkable feature of the state of society in Ireland at its very worst time. The fact was, as Sir Mackworth Young pointed out elsewhere, that the village industries were mostly being killed out by imports from England and by manufactures established in the towns; people were thus thrown back upon the land, having, in

fact, no alternative but service. The only other point he wished to touch upon was the measure known as the Separation of the Frontier and the threatened transfer of the Sikh States from the control of the Punjab Government to the direct control of the Government of India. The Province of the Punjab, as first established, was a very small province if regarded merely from the point of view of the revenue and population of the British districts; but this was made up for by the great importance of the political charge attached to it. Beginning from the south-east, there was the important State of Bhawalpur; then there were the great Sikh States with a very large population; then the Rajput States of the hills, and the Sutlej and trans-Sutlej States; then the great dominions of Jammu and Kashmir, and so on towards Swat and Afghanistan; and last, but not least, all along the western frontier the political province had the control of our relations with the border tribes. Jammu and Kashmir were taken away by the Government of India in Lord Lytton's time. Now the border tribes had gone, and with them all but one of the frontier districts. Truly, the Punjab seemed to be a pitifully small charge compared with what it was, and if the Sikh States should be taken away, what would remain? Besides the very strong practical reasons which Sir Mackworth Young had given against such a transfer, there was this to be said: that under the circumstances it was the time to pile more work upon the Government of the Punjab, and to take off work from the Government of India rather than the contrary. They could not always expect to get at the head of the Government of India a man with supernatural power of work and quickness of perception, and with an average man the work would tend to become a Government of departments, a bad government everywhere, and particularly unsuitable for India. It could, he thought, be plainly shown that the separation of the frontier had followed upon a change of policy in respect of the border tribes, not upon any failure of the Government of the Punjab to carry out the charge originally committed to them. After annexation the policy or theory which prevailed, and was accepted both by the Government of India and by the Amir, was that the country of these independent or semi-independent border tribes across the frontier was *de jure* the territory of the Amir, but as he had practically no control, it was necessary that our Government should have direct relations with them for the purpose of preventing or punishing raids or outrages, and making arrangements for peaceful intercourse and trade. That work, so far as regarded tribes close to the frontier, was entrusted to the Punjab Government—of course, under the supervision of the Government of India. Other questions relating to the semi-independent tribes further off from the frontier were outside the Punjab province, and were managed directly by the Government of India, though the Punjab Government was often consulted. If that policy had remained the policy of the Government of India, he was quite sure they would never have heard of the separation of the frontier from the Punjab. The policy of Lord Lytton was mainly influenced by military considerations, and its object was to apportion our influence as far as we could amongst the semi-dependent tribes, and to bring a wide belt of country within our

political boundary. He himself was opposed to this advance—(hear, hear)—as was, he thought, every Lieutenant-Governor who preceded him, except perhaps one. But soon after he left the province he found that this object had actually been secured, and that Sir Mortimer Durand had obtained from the Amir an agreement which included a very large tract of country within our political boundary, and after that it was, he thought; no longer of any use to oppose such a measure; he thought that it had to come. He was not, however, sure that the civil administration, though rougher and less developed, of the Chief Commissioner would not suit those districts, on the whole, as well as the Punjab system. The Punjab system of police and criminal procedure had proved inefficient to prevent murder and other crimes of revenge in most of the frontier districts, and had had to be supplemented by a very rough and precarious system, which he had always felt it would be rather difficult to work continuously in what might be called a regular province, where High Courts and lawyers must necessarily play a very important part.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN said that in the presence of so large a body of Punjabis—which seemed almost like a meeting in the Hall at Lahore—he did not like to be absolutely silent. It was long since he had left Lahore, but he wished to express general concurrence with what Sir Mackworth Young had said about the separation of the frontier from the Punjab. As many Punjabis present would know, he had, in a memorandum to which the lecturer had referred, strongly defended the policy of retaining within this progressive province Trans-Indus districts which were backward, and whose chief prospect of development lay in continued union with the Punjab. To-day, in the changed condition of frontier affairs and a swift advance towards the Indian frontier by Russia, he did not think that Punjabis, from any mere sentiment, should desire to separate the military arrangements of the Punjab border from the general defensive scheme of the Indian Empire. The Punjab must and will remain the shield and sword of India, both by its strategical position and the martial qualities of its inhabitants, and no desire to keep the districts beyond the Indus connected with the province, so as to insure their social and economical prosperity, should at all interfere with the great and absolutely vital question of Imperial defence. If the time had come when the defence of the frontier should rightly be taken from the Local Government which had done the work far more efficiently and cheaply than it had been since done by the Imperial Government, he still thought the plain country Trans-Indus should have been left under the enlightened control of the Punjab Government. With that exception he agreed entirely with what had been said in the paper, but he wished to give to the meeting one idea which should be considered by Englishmen. The Punjab being the natural defence of India, unless it were held securely, and unless its whole adult warlike population were included within our armed force, we should always be exposed to anxiety and danger from without. No doubt many of those present had read the second article on "A Warning from Manchuria," which appeared a few days ago in the *Times*—a very remarkable paper, and in its essence correct, though he



could point to some parts of it where the writer had not been altogether accurately informed. The position on the Punjab frontier and in India generally was much stronger than the *Times* made out to be the case. But it was to be remembered that the warlike population of the Punjab and North India was very limited. If it were unlimited, India might be considered invulnerable; for, as he had often said, the best of the warlike tribes—Rajputs, the Sikhs, the Goorkhas, and the Punjabi Muhammadans—led by British officers, were quite equal to, or the superiors of, the ordinary troops of the best of the European armies that could be brought against them. He knew of no better soldiers in the world than the Indian soldiers led by officers in whom they had full confidence. We heard a great deal nowadays of the Japanese, who were most gallant men and inspired by a most heroic spirit; but if Indian soldiers should find themselves in equally tight places, and with equally gallant foes against them, he did not believe that they would be found in the least inferior to the Japanese. This they had often proved, and he had seen no light cavalry in the whole of Europe which he considered superior to the irregular cavalry regiments of Hindustan. For that reason he regretted the great diffusion of the strength of the Sikhs, their employment as soldiers and police in Hongkong, Singapore, and Central Africa and elsewhere. He would like to see them more largely employed in the Indian army itself, and the time may have come when, with advantage, the policy of the Government might be reconsidered—not changed suddenly, but reconsidered—as regarded the warlike races of Northern India, and a shorter period of military service enjoined, so as to pass a larger number of them through the regular army, and so to create a very much larger reserve. The number of Sikhs being not more than 2,000,000 or 3,000,000, we could not afford to throw away any of this most valuable material by leaving it untrained and unarmed. He held that every adult Sikh or Goorkha should be a trained soldier in the regular army or in the reserve. They deserved our fullest confidence. Sir Mackworth Young had spoken most eloquently and well of the Imperial Service troops, but he wished to dissent from his attribution of this great scheme to Lord Dufferin. He claimed that the Punjab Government, of which he was then the Chief Secretary, initiated the scheme long before Lord Dufferin set foot in India at all. In 1878, at the time of the first Afghan War, the Punjab Government sent troops to the frontier from Patiala, Nabha, Jhind, Kapurthala, Bahawalpore, and Nahan, and a great many of the smaller chiefs were exceedingly disappointed because it was held that their troops were not good enough to be sent. Two years later the Punjab State troops were holding long lines of communication within the Afghan territory, and did excellent service. Although this Imperial scheme had been much improved and developed, the initiation of it was with the Punjab Government, and it was accepted by Lord Lytton, with whom he had often talked it over, and before his time with Lord Napier. Let the Punjab Government, therefore, have the credit of originating the idea of Imperial Native State troops, because it justly belonged to them.

MR. THORBURN thought that what Punjabis, whether English or native, most resented were the methods by which the detachment of the Pathan

frontier districts had been carried out rather than the separation itself. With regard to the Land Alienation Act, he was more in agreement with Sir James Lyall than with Sir Mackworth Young. He was sorry to know that the latter was still opposed to the Act, and anticipated that it would not work advantageously for Punjab landowners. So far from the view that the measure was undertaken, as Sir Mackworth had said, "in the interests of the few, and those few the less sturdy of our land-holders," being the true one, Mr. Thorburn held that when the Act was passed there was a general consensus of belief, supported by established facts, that the new departure was forced upon the Government by the necessities and miserable plight of the great mass of peasant right-holders of the province. When the Bill was before the Legislative Council of the Government of India, Sir Mackworth himself had very correctly described what its object was—viz., "to provide a corrective for our own acts, and to mitigate the almost revolutionary effects of British rule upon land tenures in the Punjab." As to those acts we, in the first place, substituted for elasticity of demand fixed assessments—a certain sum to be paid twice a year on every acre cultivated, whether it bore a crop or not. Then, further, we gradually built up an immense edifice of hard, technical laws, and flooded the country with law-courts and lawyers. As to the effects at the time that the Act was passed, fully one-third of the peasantry of the province were either seriously or inextricably involved in debt, most of them to professional money-lenders, and from 10 per cent. to 50 per cent., according to local circumstances, had lost either the whole or a large part of their hereditary holdings, the alienees being mostly money-lenders. While about 12,000,000 of the people of the Punjab were Muhammadans, the other 10,000,000 were Hindus, and the Muhammadans were certainly less sturdy as agriculturists than the Hindus. It was chiefly to save the former and the less favourably circumstanced of the latter from further expropriation that the Act was passed. In almost all countries in the world where the agricultural masses were poor, ignorant, and illiterate, the money-making classes, astute and educated, and the laws framed as if the whole people were homogeneous and business-minded, the few exploited the many. If that was true generally, it was most true in the Punjab, with its clashing creeds and opposition of interests and intelligences; hence, to end a process caused by "our system," which was ruining the majority of the peasantry, the Land Alienation Act was passed. He knew something about it, because during the best part of his service he had striven to induce the authorities of the day to reform what he considered to be a wrong system of Government, and he was happy to say, though the change was effected immediately after his retirement, that the largest portion of the reforms he had so long advocated had been already carried out. The remaining portions—the simplification of the laws and law courts, and the elastization of the land revenue system—would, he was convinced, yet be effected. He admitted that it was probably the case, as Sir Mackworth had said, that the Land Alienation Act operated to slightly depreciate the market value of land, and to restrict the amount of capital applied to the land in the way of permanent improvements; but what were those draw-

backs compared with the great gain of retaining for the peasant proprietary the land as their own, instead of letting them sink into the position of serfs of money-lenders? It should be remembered that an agricultural country's prosperity did not depend so much upon the gross volume of the output as upon the contentment of the people, and contentment was impossible without the due diffusion of the products of the country amongst the masses of its peasantry.

MR. MARTIN WOOD asked the amount of net revenue contributed by the Punjab to the Treasury, exclusive of military expenditure, which could only be taken for the whole of the country.

The CHAIRMAN said he could not himself give the information, nor was it mentioned in the paper.

RAIZADA HANS RAJ, of Jullander, said he could endorse the statement of the President as to the popularity of Sir Mackworth Young. With regard to the Alienation Act, he complained that no attention was paid to Indian views or to the views of Sir Mackworth Young, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab at that time. The Government wanted to pass the Act, and they did pass it. As regarded the education question, he was very much pleased with Sir Mackworth's review of it. He predicted, however, that the number of graduates would not continue to increase, as the Act which the Government had passed would have the effect of stopping a good many schools and colleges. It was well known in the room that the Punjabis had not very much money to give to colleges of high standing, while there were many schools open to give education to the poorer classes. But by this Bill they would all be closed and education would be stopped, so that the number of graduates would not be the same. With regard to the remarks of Sir Lepel Griffin as to the Sikhs, they were no doubt the bravest and best fighting men of which the world could boast. He quite agreed with Sir Lepel Griffin then as to the superiority of the Sikhs over the Japs, and wanted to know from Sir Lepel Griffin how far the loyal services of the Sikhs were appreciated by the Government. The Japs could very well boast of showing to the world men like Togo and Kuroki, whilst the Sikhs are not promoted to the rank of a Lieutenant even. He thanked Sir Mackworth Young for paying compliments to the Indian press, but was sorry to remark that the same views were not held by the Government of India, as is evident from the fact that the liberty of the press has been taken by passing the Secret Act.

SHEIKH ABDUL QADIR, of the *Observer*, Lahore, said he was diffident in speaking of the progress of the Punjab after the admirable address of Sir William Mackworth Young and the remarks of their Chairman, who were authorities on the subject, and in whose hands the administration of the province had rested for such a long time, but he wished to voice the sentiments of his people with regard to some of the questions touched upon. He was glad to notice that Sir Mackworth Young had given the first place to the important question of the separation of the frontier—a question which, notwithstanding its importance, was ignored at the time when it was settled by the press and by the people. It was surprising that a measure of such great significance for the future should have been quietly

passed and put into action. It was clear from the lecture that neither the Government nor people of the province had been consulted ; nor, so far as he was aware, had the people of the frontier had their say on the matter. If any part of India was voiceless in the true sense of the term, it was that part which was now separated under the description of the North-Western Province. As regarded administration, the change that had come about was, in his opinion, for the worse, and even peace was not in any way more assured than it used to be under the old administration. He remembered, when riding one evening in a part of Peshawar close to the boundary of the Indian Penal Code, being, by the police inspector in charge, told that he was acting unwisely in venturing out after dark, and was provided with an escort back within the limits of the cantonment. By one stroke of the pen the people had been deprived of many privileges which they had long enjoyed—for instance, the right of appealing against decisions which were considered unsatisfactory had been considerably curtailed. But, as Sir Lepel Griffin had observed, they did not wish to stand in the way of a measure of great Imperial importance, if the fact was established that this measure was really necessary in Imperial interests. If that fact were not established, the voice of authorities on the frontier provinces and the Punjab, like those present, who have filled offices of the greatest responsibility and thoroughly know the country, should have due weight with the Government of India.

With regard to plague regulations, no doubt at first the people of India misunderstood the policy of the Government, but the sensible portion of the population soon came to understand the good of it, and a large number of influential and leading men came forward to co-operate with and to strengthen the hands of the Government. It was only the regrettable mishap at Malkoval, coupled with the subsequent secrecy of the report of the Commission appointed to inquire into the affair, that stopped the progress of anti-plague measures in the Punjab.

As to Sir William Mackworth's appreciative allusions to the zeal of the Punjab people in the cause of education, and his remarks to the effect that the British people had placed in the hands of the Indians weapons which they might, if they chose, use against the British, he would only say he was sure that the people who had been entrusted with those weapons valued the confidence placed in them, and would prove themselves fully deserving of it.

COLONEL YATE said that, not having been in the Punjab Administration, he did not come within the category of those qualified to speak, yet having heard Sheikh Abdul Qadir bemoan the separation of the frontier province, and the loss of the opportunity of appealing against judicial decisions by inhabitants of the frontier provinces, he wished, while expressing sympathy with him on the first point, with regard to the second to say that he thought it a good thing that the people of the frontier no longer had such power of appeal. He would also ask the consideration of the audience to the weighty words that had fallen from Sir James Lyall as to the inapplicability of the laws and codes of what might be called a regulation province to the people of the wild tract now known as the

North-West Frontier; and with regard to the remark of Sir Lepel Griffin as to the prosperity and success of these peoples depending upon the continuation of their union with the Punjab, he himself was of opinion that their prosperity was just as likely to be increased under the present administration.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN said that the authorities of the Punjab had quite realized the particular legal wants of the natives, and in abolishing High Court jurisdiction had given them simpler codes.

The CHAIRMAN: We supplemented them.

SIR MACKWORTH YOUNG, in replying to the discussion, fully corroborated Sir Lepel Griffin in claiming for the Punjab the credit of the scheme for the utilization of native forces for Imperial defence, though it was Lord Dufferin who introduced the scheme, and as Viceroy was responsible for it. With regard to the indebtedness of the agriculturists, he thought Mr. Thorburn had greatly overestimated the numbers of those actually submerged through debt. So far as he could remember the proportion did not exceed 25 per cent. in any tahsil, and the average, he was inclined to think, was something like 7 per cent. as against Mr. Thorburn's figure of one-third.

MR. THORBURN said he put the hopelessly involved at one-third, and the seriously involved at another one-third, speaking for the whole of India.

SIR MACKWORTH YOUNG said the figures he had in mind were figures he had lately consulted with regard to the Punjab, but he could not speak for the whole of India. With regard to frontier districts, he fully accepted all that had been said about the necessity for special treatment for them. As Sir Lepel Griffin had already intimated, the Punjab Government had done a great deal in the way of suiting the burden to the shoulder in that respect, and his own opinion was that the Punjab Government was perfectly competent to do it. It was true that special measures were necessary, but it did not, therefore, follow that a miniature administration would give better effect to those measures than a strong administration. In conclusion, he thanked the audience for the kindness with which they had listened to his paper, and expressed his special indebtedness to his old friend Sir James Lyall for presiding on the occasion.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN proposed a vote of thanks to Sir Mackworth Young for his interesting paper, in which he had given a great deal of information not otherwise available, and to Sir James Lyall for presiding. It was not often that they had present upon a special local paper authorities so great as three Lieutenant-Governors of the Punjab, though one of them had chosen to remain veiled in silence. He thought he should have come forward with a plea on one side or the other. He hoped, however, they would one day have him on the Council, where were wanted all the best men to make an impression upon a somewhat dull and stupid British public.

The vote having been carried by acclamation, the proceedings terminated.

## FURTHER PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

AT a meeting held at the Caxton Hall on Tuesday, December 20, 1904, a paper was read by T. Durant Beighton, Esq., I.C.S. (retired), on "The Possibilities of the Indian Tobacco Industry," Lord Reay in the chair. The following, among others, were present: Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Sir Frederick Fryer, K.C.S.I., Mr. Lesley Probyn, C.M.G., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Mr. A. Rogers, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mrs. Beighton, Mrs. Corbett and Mr. Victor Corbett, Mr. F. H. Skrine, Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. W. Ilbert, Raizada Hans Raj, Mr. C. J. Bond, Mr. L. K. Daru, Mr. Haq. Nawaz, Mr. Percy Williams, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. Bidyut Gangoly, Mr. Thomas Higgins, Mr. Bonnerjee, Mr. Narunjun Singh, Mr. Hammond, Dr. Roberts, Mr. G. H. Freeman (President London Cigar Manufacturers), Mr. J. S. McConechy, Mr. W. H. Davies (Star Tobacco Company).

The paper was read.\*

MR. F. H. SKRINE said that, like Mr. Beighton, he was a layman as regards the tobacco trade. There was no industry in the world so enveloped in mystery, and none whose portals were more strictly guarded by those engaged in it. He did not know why all this mystery was made, and thought they owed hearty thanks to Mr. Beighton for having raised a corner of the curtain which shrouded the secrets of this vast industry. The main point which struck him in the paper was the extraordinary neglect of India on the part of British capitalists, so long maintained in the face of the deeper and wider knowledge that even the "man in the street" possessed of that dependency. As regarded tobacco, India had extraordinary advantages. The country had every variety of climate, from the Arctic zone found at the summit of the Himalayas to heat almost of the nether regions of the plains. The soil deposited by alluvial action to a depth of many feet was for all purposes of tobacco-growing equal, if not superior, to that of Cuba. The country was densely populated, and the cleverness of the young men and women employed in jute and cotton factories was extraordinary. He had himself seen specimens of Dakka muslin so incredibly fine that no one would imagine it to be anything but a spider's web; and dresses made of this diaphanous material could be passed through a ring. The deftness of finger which could produce such marvels was at least equal to that of the employes of tobacco factories in the East End of London and in Bristol. One important feature of

\* For paper see elsewhere in this *Review*.

Mr. Beighton's address was the protection which he showed was enjoyed by English cigar manufacturers. The fact that such protection existed was very remarkable, but Mr. Beighton had not furnished a reason for it. He would suggest as a possible cause the fact that the late Chancellor of the Exchequer represented Bristol in Parliament. As a Free Trader he regretted the trend towards Protection of a great political party, and he suspected that the protection given to British cigars was in some degree connected with that movement. He would say a few words as to his own experience of tobacco, for everyone liked to hear from a man what he himself knew. He was for twenty-one years in India, whither he went more than thirty years ago, and he had been a moderate smoker through life. The Indian demand for tobacco had experienced many vicissitudes. Sixty years ago Manilla cigars were introduced into the country from the Philippines. These cigars were exquisitely made—such leaf and such rolling one seldom or never saw in other products. Indian cigars were then literally a byword, and consisted of cylinders of rough, yellow, and ill-smelling material in which draught was provided by means of a straw down the centre. As regarded flavour, nothing more nasty could be imagined. Though far cheaper than Manilla cigars, there was no demand for them, except among cast-hardened "Quihies." In an evil moment the Spanish Crown abandoned its monopoly of manufacture in the Philippines, and private enterprise failed miserably. Not one in a thousand Manilla cigars were smoked nowadays as compared with the consumption of thirty years ago. Then came an era of improvement in Indian cigars. The great firms and dealers in the South of India sought to put their house in order, and Madras cigars came to some extent into use throughout India. But, comparing the progress made by the products of Southern India with those of Sumatra, Borneo, and Java, one might say that, while the latter had been progressing by leaps and bounds, the former remained at a standstill. Even the best Indian cigars were many degrees inferior in flavour, make, or quality to those of the Farther East. Now, why was this? The reason was that, in the case of these great islands, private enterprise had been efficacious and foreign capital had been secured, whereas in India very little had been done in either respect. If Mr. Beighton's paper did nothing else, it would call the attention of English capitalists and the English press to the vast field which was open for the employment of capital in connection with the tobacco trade of India.

MR. BEIGHTON next invited the attention of smokers present to some samples of Indian cigars kindly given to him by a firm in London for the purpose of illustrating his lecture, and first of all exhibited one or two of the mouldy cigars in which fermentation had taken place after manufacture. He pointed out that cigars of that kind did very great injury to the London trade through being sold as well-fermented Indian cigars, whereas, as a matter of fact, they were mouldy, as anyone could test by their aroma when cut open. He also called attention to cigars made from Indian tobacco and covered with the indigenous leaf, thus showing that Indian cigars could be made with the native leaf, though they are

rather more pungent than cigars covered with Sumatran tobacco. Another cigar he produced was described to him as the finest specimen of Indian produce to be found in London, which had been handed to him by the representative of an Indian firm, who desired that his name should not be disclosed. The cigar in question was encased in silver foil.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN regarded that as a very suspicious circumstance. (Laughter.)

MR. BEIGHTON thought so too, and for that reason was still more determined to resist the pressure which would doubtless be brought to bear upon him to mention the name of the generous firm who had presented him with the cigar. (Laughter.)

*[The report of Mr. Davies' observations had not reached us at the time of going to press.]*

MR. FREEMAN observed that he was a British cigar manufacturer, and he thought there was a little misapprehension as to the attitude of the British cigar manufacturers to Indian tobacco. As far as he could gather from the paper, the contention was that the Indian tobacco was in existence, and simply needed English capital to enable it to be put upon the market as a competitor of the Sumatran and Borneo tobaccos. As to that he could not speak personally, having never seen Indian tobacco in the leaf; but if Indian tobacco had been comparable with that of Sumatran and Borneo, it would, no doubt, have been sent over here, and have realized the same high prices. It was not an unusual thing to pay from 5s. to 10s. per pound for Sumatran and Borneo covers, while for the best Indian tobacco only 3d. or 4d. per pound was realized. It seemed to him it would be absolutely impossible with anything like a just or fair valuation for any manufacturer here to purchase such tobacco for the purpose of making it into cigars, and that might account for the feeling that there was no possibility of growing such tobacco. Speaking on behalf of the British tobacco trade, he was sure they would welcome good tobacco with open arms, whether it came from India or any of the colonies. The English manufacturer had at present to spend nine out of every ten sovereigns he spent with the foreigner, but, given a good article, he was sure the trade would be only too pleased to lay out with their own countrymen the money hitherto laid out with the foreigner. As some incentive to the capitalist, he might mention that in the case of the Darvel Bay Company a crop of tobacco which cost £30,000 to raise was sold on the Dutch market for £75,000, exactly 150 per cent. on the one year's business. With such an inducement they should be able to command any amount of capital, but it must first be shown to the man who was going to embark his money that the tobacco produced would find a ready market here; and if any gentleman present had tobacco to put upon the market, he would be very pleased to give it full consideration. He was a buyer, and would, in fact, buy anything as long as it would sell again; but he was afraid to touch tobacco at 3d. or 4d. per pound, and so with the rest of the trade. If an ideal article could be produced a ready market could be found for it.



MR. PENNINGTON said: As a confirmed non-smoker I cannot pretend to much interest in tobacco, except as a convenient subject for taxation, and I cannot remember why Mr. Massey (?) found it "impossible" to tax it. The purely Hindu State of Travancore, which in my time was the model State of India, and bids fair to be a model State again, used to raise as much revenue from tobacco as from salt, and even now appears to get at least two-thirds as much. I cannot see why it should be more difficult to tax tobacco in Madras, at any rate, if not in the whole of India, as a partial substitute for the oppressive salt monopoly.

In moving a vote of thanks to Mr. Beighton, LORD REAY observed that this was an extremely technical subject, upon which those who were not in the trade and were not tobacco-growers would do well to express no opinion. The address was full of valuable suggestions and important statements. He was sure they had all heard with interest the latest account of the situation given them by Mr. Davies, who, he was glad to hear, came from Bombay. He was pleased to hear that His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda had interested himself in the cultivation of tobacco. He was not surprised, as he was aware that the Gaekwar had always given very special attention to the development of the agricultural administration of Baroda, giving in that and in many other respects a good example to the other chiefs of India. As they had in most instances a surplus which they could spend to the advantage of their subjects, material assistance in the development of agriculture could be expected from them. It was clear from what Mr. Davies had said that, with the application of science, capital, and skilled labour, there was a future for the tobacco industry in India. When he was in India he took great interest in the development of tobacco cultivation at Nadiad, in Gujarat, where Desai Behechardar Viharidas was engaged in making experiments, which, from what Mr. Davies had told them, seemed to have led to good results. He thought they should inquire why it was that capital had been attracted to Sumatra. He need not speak of the labour question, because they all knew that in India there was no lack of labour, neither were the agriculturists of India lacking in shrewdness in the tilling of the soil, so that all their energies required was proper guidance to be directed into new channels. He was firmly convinced that with skilled supervision the industry might be made a remunerative concern, and he was not surprised to hear that two gentlemen had been appointed for that purpose, knowing the interest which Lord Curzon took in the agricultural and industrial development of India. He was convinced that, without any artificial stimulus of protection—about which something more would be said on January 30, when the whole question of the trade of India was to be discussed—and with the goodwill of all concerned—the Government of India, the native chiefs, and the industrial and scientific representatives—there was a future for the growth of tobacco in India, and that sooner or later a thriving tobacco industry would be established in India in accordance with Mr. Beighton's anticipation, for which he had given them excellent grounds.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN observed that he did not propose in any way to express his views on this technical question, which was part of a large subject which he hoped would be influentially discussed at the end of next month—namely, the fiscal policy of this country with reference to its colonies and dependencies. Hitherto discussion of the subject had been rather shirked, possibly because Mr. Chamberlain was not very intimately acquainted with India, and possibly for other considerations of apparently great difficulty; but they wished to have it discussed here—this East India Association being, if he might say so, the most important association connected with India in the City of London—in a cosmopolitan and unparty spirit for and against, though for his own part he was a very strong supporter of the preferential policy of Mr. Chamberlain. He proposed a vote of thanks to Lord Reay for presiding in his customary able manner.

MR BEIGHTON wished to associate himself with Sir Lepel Griffin in acknowledging his indebtedness to the kindness of Lord Reay for taking the chair at a moment's notice. He regretted that in the discussion only one allusion had been made—and that a very brief one by Lord Reay—to the fiscal arguments he had used. He maintained that the proposals he made in his paper involved no infringement of the present fiscal system, to use a neutral phrase, the words "free trade" being susceptible of so very many interpretations. He desired to express his gratification at the speech of Mr. Davies. Six months ago he (the lecturer) knew nothing of Indian tobacco. He knew a little more now; but in listening to an expert he could but feel how inferior is the standpoint of the amateur. The experiments mentioned by him he regarded as full of promise, and he hoped the process of fermenting the alternate layers of Havana and Indian leaf would ultimately solve the problem of getting rid of the saltpetre in the latter; but at present it was impossible for him to do more than offer congratulations upon the measure of success already obtained. With regard to the remarks of Mr. Freeman, he thought he had rather misconstrued what he had said. He did not for a moment wish to convey that tobacco which would fetch only 3d. or 4d. per pound in the English market was of any use at all, but his object had been to indicate the causes—all remediable—which had hitherto prevented Indian tobacco from having a higher marketable value, or even a chance of proper appraisement. If those errors were rectified, if the cultivators had more scientific methods and European supervisors, the experiments that had taken place showed that a marketable article could be produced which could be utilized in London for pipe-tobacco and cigar-making. He was sure that Mr. Freeman was only stating the exact truth when he said that he would prefer, if he could, to obtain the materials for his cigars from a British colony or dependency. With regard to the fiscal question, in the event of a conference taking place between the colonies and the Mother Country—a proposal which, he was glad to notice, had now the approval of many Liberal statesmen besides those belonging to the Conservative party—he felt certain that India would not be left out, but would

have an important part to play in the matter, as befitted our greatest dependency.

He wished, in conclusion, to thank the audience for the careful attention they had given to his treatment of a very complicated subject, and especially to express his grateful acknowledgments of the appreciative remarks about his lecture which had fallen from all the speakers. (Applause.)

## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

## FANCIFUL TRANSLATIONS.

ON February 26, 1898, there appeared in the Literary Supplement to the *Times* an article *à propos* to Mr. E. Heron Allen's version of Omar Khayám (we adopt the wrong transliteration of the name that has now become stereotyped in the English language in place of the correct Umr Khayám). In that article several examples were given of versions of extracts made, not from the original Persian, but from translations of it, together with literal translations of the same, in order to contrast with the former, and show how far the poetical fancies of authors had contrived not only to carry them away from the sense of the astronomer or tent-maker poet, but in some cases to give a directly contrary meaning to that of the original.

Is this the legitimate purpose of translation from foreign languages? Are modern poets (or poetasters) so poverty-stricken in the matter of ideas to be expressed in their own language as to be obliged to resort to those of foreign authors whom they do not understand, and whose expressions they consequently frequently garble or misinterpret? To our idea the object of translating from a foreign tongue should be to place before English readers a correct interpretation of the meaning intended to be conveyed in that tongue, in order to bring home to them the mind and feelings of the foreigner. If not, such so-called translation can only be the vehicle in which to carry English ideas assimilated more or less closely from a foreigner's imagination, and to be of any value whatever should be strictly literal as far, at all events, as the general sense is concerned. We have been led to these remarks by certain versions of extracts from the odes of the great poet Háfiz, published a few months ago in the *Fortnightly Review* by Mr. R. le Gallienne, and a version by Mrs. E. W. Mumford (lately brought out by David Nutt) of a hundred love-songs by Kamál ud Dín, a poet of Isfahán.

Taking first Mr. Gallienne's versions from Háfiz. In the prospectus he has recently issued of renderings in verse of some of the odes from the Diván of Háfiz, he admits that he has made them from literal prose versions of the poet, but supplemented by his own fancy, and that while he has kept as closely as he deems necessary to his original, his aim, as in a previous work in which Omar Khayám was dealt with after the same fashion, was to make English poetry. His version is thus offered, in the first place, as poetry, and, in the second, as translation; but he also claims as faithfully as in him lies truly to interpret Háfiz to English readers, so that the total result of his endeavour really, if not literally, should be Háfiz. How far these aims have been accomplished will be seen from the following quotations from one of the odes published in the *Fortnightly Review* mentioned above, together with their literal renderings from Wilberforce Clarke's translations, which are those drawn upon by Mr. Le Gallienne himself.

Le Gallienne :

"Záhid, I beg you, leave my sins alone ;  
They are not yours ; I answer for my own.  
Each man a sinner is, and maybe you,  
O white-souled Záhid, are a sinner, too."

W. Clarke :

"O Záhid, pure of nature ! censure not the profligates ;  
For, against thee, they will not record another's crime."

Now, the only ground on which the author can venture to apostrophize the recluse (Záhid) in this fashion is that in the next couplet Háfiz says that in the end every man will reap the reward of his own actions. The moral drawn, as it is not a translation of the original, does not appear to us as in any way necessary in order to present the idea as English poetry.

Again, the idea contained in the sixth couplet—viz. :

"Pleasant is the garden of Paradise ; but beware,  
That thou reckon plunder (that is, unearned gain)—the shade of the  
willow and the border of the field"—

is expanded to the following :

"The world to come is good—indeed it is—  
But so before me, holy one, is this ;  
Scorn not the joys you have for those you dream,  
The shadow of a willow or a stream,  
A face of ivory, a breast of myrrh,  
And someone singing. Záhid, O beware,  
Lest you slip realities like these  
For theologic unrealities."

This is evidently too wide an amplification of Háfiz's simple caution to the recluse not to throw away earth's pleasure for the possible joys of Paradise. To turn to Mrs. Mumford's version of the love-songs of Kamál ud Dín (or Kamál ul Dín, not Kamal ad Din). These, according to the preface to the work, are a collection of quatrains from different sources ; they are versified in a manner differing from that of the common form, in which the first, second, and fourth lines rhyme with each other and the third not, the first and fourth and second and third being respectively made to do so. It is very difficult to identify the originals, but the following will serve as examples :

*Literal Translation.*

"It has seen thy face, and the understanding of wisdom has departed.  
Thy form has appeared in grace, and the cypress has gone from its place.  
The morning breeze has passed over the rosebed,  
It smelt thy perfume, and its vigour has fallen from its feet."

*Mrs. Mumford's Version.*

"When wisdom sees thy face, her calmness flies :  
The cypress sees thee, and its rival knows.  
The morning breeze o'er fair rose gardens blows,  
Breathes thy soft perfume, and in envy dies."

It will be seen that the original contains nothing about the cypress finding a rival, or the morning breeze dying away in envy at the beloved's perfume.

These have been assumed in the exuberance of the author's poetic fancy. A further specimen of the author's versified translation is as follows :

"O sword, thou art the blade that moweth men,  
As men mow down the shrinking blade of grass.  
A flash of lightning through the air doth pass,  
And lo ! the flowers of blood bloom forth again."

The literal translation of the original quatrain is here given :

"O sword, thou art the (blade of) grass that moweth down men,  
In the tongue's wound blame is laid upon it.  
In colour after the manner of lightning good fortune has come to it :  
It is green, and wherever it goes it becomes red (or a gem)."

The passage is certainly obscure, but the meaning conveyed to our mind is that as the green blade of grass is reddened by the passing of the flash of lightning,\* so the sword is instantaneously tinged with the blood of men as it strikes them down.

In translations such as these a certain degree of play of the poetical fancy is no doubt permissible, and may be even necessary with a view to the smooth running of the verse ; but we must as critics withhold our approval from versions that not merely go beyond the ideas of the original, but also substitute those of the translator for those of the poet himself. The result has been shown in the case of Fitzgerald's paraphrase of Omar Khayám in exalting the fame of one whose work ranks in the eyes of his own countrymen by no means among those of the most eminent Persian poets, and placing it in the opinion of English readers in a position far superior to those of others who are in reality more worthy of admiration.

A. ROGERS.

June, 1904.

#### "THE SALT MONOPOLY."

SIR,

I hope I may be allowed to call the attention of your readers to a little book entitled "Common Salt," by C. Godfrey Gümpel, published by Swan Sonnenschein and Co.† No one should venture to give a decided opinion on the salt tax without having read this volume, and I have never ceased to regret that I had not seen it before writing the paper published in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for October last.

Yours truly,

J. S. PENNINGTON.

December 2, 1904.

#### CHINA AND TIBET.

SIR,

In the last number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* there is a contribution from the pen of Mr. E. H. Parker entitled "How the Tibetans Grew." Of that most excellent paper every detail is interesting,

\* In the lithographed original the word *barg*, a leaf, is used ; but *bark*, or lightning, is clearly the right word.

† See article by Mr. Gümpel on the subject in our issue for April, 1901, and that of Dr. George Brown on "Common Salt in Relation to Health" in the same number.

and every step important. All the more was I surprised when I read (see p. 239): "As the celebrated pilgrim Fah Hien set out for India in A.D. 399, under the patronage of one of these Tibetan rulers, it is not unlikely that the Western name 'Tsina' (or 'China') was derived from this source." If this sentence was intended to suggest that the name "China" was then for the first time applied to the Celestial Empire, then must we cast about for a new meaning for the Bible word "Sînîm" (cf. Isa. xlix. 12). What exactly this word may mean has never yet been ascertained; all we know is that it is an ethnico-territorial designation. Some (the Seventy, for example) have held that it refers to "the land of the Persians," and others (see the Vulgate) to some "southern" land—presumably Egypt. But all recent scholarship inclines to the opinion that *China* is the "land" alluded to, and, still more, that the word "China" is etymologically akin to "Sîn," the form, in the singular, of this word "Sînîm." If this view is sound, then must the Asiatic designation of the Celestial Empire have been in vogue more than 1,000 years prior to the time of Fah Hien. The question is, as you will kindly observe, not a theological but a distinctly historical one; it is, therefore, not out of place in this *Review*. Your learned contributor is at all times so very careful that I prefer to doubt my own judgment rather than his. If he could afford us some light on the question now raised, he would be adding to the completeness of a paper which is most valuable and opportune. It may be added that "Chîn" is still the name given to China in the Indian languages, and that "China" (plural "Chinâs") is in Sanskrit the word for "a Chinaman."

J. D. BATE.

Folkestone, October 22.

### BRITAIN, RUSSIA, AND JAPAN.

SIR,

As I recently pointed out in this *Review*,\* our supineness at the beginning of the war was mainly responsible for the seizure of the *Malacca*, and we have had equally little reason to congratulate ourselves upon our acquiescence in her being subjected to search. The lack of spirit shown by us confirmed Russia in the belief that she could always trample with impunity upon our rights. Hence it was but natural that, on receiving the first instalment of "firm representations" from our Foreign Office as to the Dogger Bank outrage, she should determine to give us no redress beyond empty professions of regret, belied by the exultation displayed on the Neva at the attack upon our trawlers, and a sum of money represented at St. Petersburg as alms magnanimously bestowed upon the fishermen by the Czar.

Diplomatists like ours, who almost invariably give way in the end—as when they suffered Russia to order us out of Port Arthur—would have done best to express themselves satisfied at once with what was offered, and make a show of taking it for granted that the guilty would be punished. It is only countries like China, after all, that are expected to

\* October, 1904.

behead a handful of obscure and innocent persons by way of expiation for the offences of more important culprits. But our Government has a strange weakness for peremptory demands at the outset. According to precedent, then, it backed up a "vigorously-worded note" by a naval demonstration, and its constant apologist, the *Daily Telegraph*, soon afterwards triumphantly chronicled the result, under the headings: "All our claims conceded. Russian fleet remains at Vigo. Guilty officers to be punished." "The precise duration of the fleet's detention at Vigo," it explained in the course of its comments on the Southampton speech, "is not mentioned, but it is believed that it will extend to about three weeks, by which time the inquiry will probably be concluded." A few days later its interpretation of Mr. Balfour's announcements, or Mr. Balfour's own interpretation of the Russian concessions, proved to be wrong. The whole of the Russian ships went on from Vigo towards the Far East, not even leaving behind the officers responsible for the outrage, but only four persons who, in the paper's own words, would "give evidence from the Russian point of view"; while its St. Petersburg correspondent affirmed most positively that no Russian officer would ever be punished, and that the International Court had only been accepted by Russia as a means of evading the obligation to do so. "The whole arrangement," he concluded, "resembles a farce." The sequel has shown it to be, indeed, a ghastly mockery, like all our diplomatic relations with Russia.

The officially controlled journals of her capital, which have unanimously and consistently repudiated any intention of punishing the Russian offenders, also let it be understood that no depositions contrary to the cock-and-bull story of the naval officers would be acted upon, since their evidence was "naturally of far greater importance than that of the Hull fishermen." Then came the further news that the Russian war-party had succeeded in making the Ministry of Foreign Affairs repudiate the agreement with Lord Lansdowne, the basis of which had already been reduced to writing between the two Governments. "Russia," it was argued, "will never fire the first shot, neither will the British King and his Government. Therefore, the danger of war is eliminated in every case. Consequently, we can have our own way with impunity." The agreement to arbitrate had merely been entered into with a view to pacify popular indignation in England, as was done by that which Mr. Gladstone announced at the time of the Penjdeh "incident": the excitement had subsided, now as then, and nothing more of arbitration need be heard in this case than in that. Russia had but to remain firm, and the British Government would assent to her view. "All danger of war being now eliminated," we were informed, "Russian diplomacy confidently expects to have its own way." And in this it has fully succeeded, perhaps even beyond its expectations. Instead of ascertaining what Russian officers were responsible for the Dogger Bank tragedy, as Mr. Balfour had originally promised, the International Commission is to inquire into "the degree of blame attaching to the subjects of the two high contracting parties or to the subjects of other countries." Since none but the word



of Russian officers will be believed, this means, as far as any practical result is concerned, that Great Britain and her fishermen will be put on their trial for having aided and abetted Japanese torpedo-boats in an attack upon Admiral Rojdestvensky's ships.

When the outrage first became known at the Stock Exchange, a wit announced that the incident might be considered at an end, as the British Government had conveyed a message of apology to St. Petersburg, with an expression of profound regret that the fishing-boats had been allowed to hamper the movements of the Baltic Fleet. That wag was, indeed, a prophet: the Russian Admiralty has actually had the assurance to represent Great Britain as the guilty party, bound to tender an apology and a heavy indemnity, and we have gone so far towards granting these premises as to consent to their forming the subject of examination by the Commission. No wonder the Russian press boasts of this result as a complete victory over us.

It had been easy to foresee the Russian triumph for some time, ever since the *Daily Telegraph*, which plays much the same part as the inspired organs of foreign Cabinets,\* had made it certain that the pliancy of the Government, like the magnanimity of Mr. Gladstone after Majuba, was actuated by the extreme fear of war, with which the Continent has so long identified our policy. In the course of a homily on peace, the paper had argued that the Ministry deserved "infinite" gratitude for its previous concessions to St. Petersburg, since without them France, not to speak of other countries, would have attacked us; and, apart from humanitarian considerations, "a first-class war would cost at least two hundred and fifty millions." The whole world, Russia included, had thus been told "semi-officially"—what it could not make more than a shrewd guess at before—that there was nothing with which England would not put up rather than fight whenever any but puny adversaries were concerned.

We may henceforth expect the treatment this declaration deserves. Russia, indeed, has already taken advantage of it, not only to turn the tables upon us in the Dogger Bank inquiry, but also to devise a plan for capping her usual infractions of treaty engagements by their more solemn repudiation, sending her Black Sea fleet through the Dardanelles after the further batch of armed "volunteer cruisers" that has just started, eastward bound, from Suez. The French Foreign Office, as soon as it heard of this intention, said that England would content herself with a protest, not making the act a *casus belli*; and we all know that where our dealings with the Russians are in question, this is tantamount to asking them to do just as they please. But, as it turns out, we are not to be considered at all. Russia's contempt for us has developed so enormously that, as her newspapers tell us, she no longer even admits our having any voice in the matter, so—as she has no opposition to fear from France or Germany—she does not propose to discuss it except with Turkey. Her regular mouthpieces never tire, besides, of representing her as our implacable foe, especially eager in par-

\* I have, on this account, almost always taken its telegrams as my authority for the dispositions of St. Petersburg.

ticular for the conflict that shall turn us out of India, and of dwelling with delight on the steps she is constantly taking to hasten this consummation. It is probable that the Government's profession of faith in peace at any price will encourage her to provoke us here, too, and we may expect to be informed at any moment of aggressive moves on the part of the troops she has been massing on the Afghan borders. Then, if there is any point beyond which Ministers are not prepared to go in the surrender of everything that the Russians covet, war must be the upshot of their dread of it.

Meanwhile, our pusillanimous conduct has helped to lend colour to the belief that we who, as Dr. A. Conan Doyle points out in the *Times*, "have earned throughout our history the reputation of being an unstable ally," are following our worst traditions. We are bound by treaty to insist on the observance of the strictest neutrality, yet we have allowed Russia repeatedly to turn French ports into bases for her warships, to bring armed vessels out of the Black Sea for use against our ally, and to coal and take in water at Port Said, the last being the same privileges which we sternly denied the Spanish squadron in Egyptian waters, as another *Times* correspondent reminds us, in 1898. Add to this, amongst other things of which the Japanese have every right to complain, that we have been supplying Russia with a large quantity of ammunition, and, above all, of that coal without which the dastardly assailants of our fishermen would never have been able to undertake their voyage to the Far East. True, it is contended that we do not know when coal is intended for Russia, but this cannot surely apply to the many cases in which charterings have been openly announced in the newspapers. How is it to be reconciled, moreover, with the statement in the *Daily Telegraph* of November 29 that no effect had been produced upon Cardiff merchants by the Foreign Office reminder of the penalties consequent upon breach of neutrality? We stand convicted on this, as on the other counts, of having connived at its violation; in other words, our alliance has not even stood the slight tests to which it has so far been subjected. This raises the gravest doubts as to its value under a greater strain, such as an extension of hostilities brought about by undue French support to the Baltic fleet, and the light thrown by the *Daily Telegraph* upon the Government's attitude has strengthened these doubts enormously.

R. G. CORBET.

December 1, 1904.

#### EDUCATION OF INDIAN IMMIGRANTS IN CEYLON.\*

The Colonial Office has now arrived at a decision in regard to the question of estate schools, which has been under consideration for some time. Mr. A. G. Wise, who has taken an active part in drawing attention to the disadvantages in regard to education under which the Tamil

\* See article by Mr. Wise in our number for January, 1904.

immigrants to Ceylon have hitherto laboured, has received the following communication from that Department under date November 4, 1904 :

"With reference to your letter of the 26th ultimo, I am directed by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton to inform you that he conveyed his decision on the subject of the education of the children employed on estates in Ceylon to the Governor in a despatch dated the 16th of September last.

"Mr. Lyttelton informed Sir H. A. Blake that he approved the adoption of Mr. Burrows' proposals, but that he thought that Mr. Harward's proposals for grouping estates for educational purposes should also be tried where circumstances are favourable, inasmuch as he saw no reason why the two systems should not be worked at the same time according to the different circumstances of the districts. He also suggested that the Director of Public Instruction should in each annual report devote some space to showing in detail what progress, if any, has been made in the education of these children.

"(Signed) C. P. LUCAS."

Mr. Wise, who holds strongly that special legislation is required to place estate schools on a satisfactory basis, had, previously to the receipt of the foregoing letter, addressed the following communications to the Colonial Office :

"I have the honour to submit herewith a few observations in regard to the report by Mr. S. M. Burrows, C.C.S., on the above subject, in compliance with the permission kindly accorded me by the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

In the first place, I would invite attention to the difference of opinion existing between the present Director of Public Instruction, Mr. J. Harward, M.A., and the ex-Director, Mr. Burrows. Mr. Harward, in his report for 1903, uses the following words :

"The real solution of the question seems to lie in the establishment of a special class of schools for the estate coolie, with a syllabus framed to meet the real wants of his children. The extension of schools of a similar type through the more backward parts of the rural districts of Ceylon would probably be a wise measure."—*Administration Reports, 1903, Part IV., Miscellaneous.*

Mr. Burrows' recommendations, on the other hand, amount to little more than the despatch of a further circular to all planters, in the hope that they will thereby be induced to give some encouragement (by "occasional visits, inquiries, etc.") to such classes as a "kangany" (or native foreman) may choose to start for the children of his own particular gang ; for these classes are rarely, if ever, available for all the children on an estate, irrespectively of caste. I am at a loss to know what grounds

there are for supposing that such a circular as is suggested will have the effect of inducing a planter to take a personal interest in such classes, when during the last quarter of a century planters as a whole have not evinced a keen interest in the subject.

I am bound, therefore, to say that Mr. Harward's proposal appears to be the most likely to produce satisfactory results. Care should naturally be taken to frame the course of instruction so as to meet the particular needs of this class, and not to unfit them for following the occupation of their parents. The present so-called "line schools" (if schools they can be termed) might afford a basis for such programme of studies. "Board schools on the English model" would be obviously appropriate only to a far more advanced people than the Tamil coolies; nor has the provision of "such schools" ever been suggested, so far as I am aware.

The objections raised to the present system might well and easily be met—

1. By reducing the minimum session in a school from three hours, as at present is the rule except for children over eleven years of age, to two hours, thus avoiding interference with the children's wage-earning power; there should further be an understanding that attendance at school will not be insisted on during the height of the plucking season, which does not last more than a few weeks, but during which period every available coolie is required to assist in plucking the leaf.

2. For the existing method of making grants should be substituted what may be termed the "lump sum" grant system, a lump sum towards meeting working expenses being given to every estate school upon the receipt of a satisfactory report on the whole year's work of the schools, such report being furnished by a travelling school inspector with some knowledge of the Tamil language. This plan need not debar the adoption of the recommendation of Mr. J. Harward that part of the cost of the schools be thrown on the coolies themselves, who are immigrants earning good wages. A charge of, say, twenty-five cents per month might be made to each child attending the school.

If these concessions were made, I do not for one moment anticipate that the result would be a revival of infanticide, with ruin and a general exodus of labour. Have any such results attended the starting of the forty-three "grant-in-aid" schools already in existence? Similar objections to those raised in the report under reference were made by the planters in British Guiana, where now, as I am informed by a competent authority, it would be hard to find a sugar-planter still maintaining the benighted delusion that the provision of simple elementary learning is inimical to the interests of the proprietors of estates.

I would particularly invite attention to the pamphlet recently issued by the Planters' Association, which, as is granted by Mr. Burrows, shows that, even with its admitted shortcomings, the present scheme of aided schools has in certain cases worked reasonably well, the coolies availing themselves to a remarkable degree of the facilities thus afforded for the education of their children. The application of a somewhat similar scheme on

revised lines might conceivably meet the present difficulty, making, however, the establishment of schools compulsory upon the planters, as recommended by the Hon. Mr. J. Ferguson, C.M.G., M.L.C. At the meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute recently held, Mr. Ferguson stated publicly that the example of the proprietors who had opened schools should, and must, be followed by all directors of tea companies and all estate proprietors. If, he added, after a proper interval from notice given by the Director of Public Instruction the estates did not open schools, something like compulsion might be necessary, at any rate as regards the provision of a suitable school-building and teacher.

In this connection, I may quote the opinion of a "Proprietor," who writes as follows :

"The head kangany is utterly devoid of the slightest sympathy towards his sub-kanganies and coolies, who are simply held in slavery. Ignorance, crass ignorance, is at the bottom of this chicanery, and surely a little schooling on estates cannot be objected to by any Britisher with a love of justice and fair play."

"G. M. H." says : "The amount of teaching given by the coolies themselves in classes and schools provided by themselves is almost insignificant." He advocates compulsory education on estates. "This," he adds, "would necessitate the provision of schools within reasonable distances, the onus of maintaining which would naturally fall upon the Government, which might, however, impose special rates, as it does for the Police and Medical Establishments." This suggestion will doubtless also be considered by the Right Hon. the Secretary of State.

As regards the number of children affected by the proposal, it may be estimated at 61,023, although I am aware that the question of the education of girls presents difficulties.

In conclusion, I would venture to urge that the Right Hon. the Secretary of State will favourably consider the adoption of the scheme proposed by Mr. J. Harward, bearing in mind also that it is supported, as I believe, by Mr. Ferguson.

The system advocated by Mr. Burrows has been tried for thirty years, and has produced slender results. It would appear opportune, therefore, that existing methods be utilized and extended, some such slight supervision being exercised by the authorities as will insure to every child on plantations the chance of obtaining an education appropriate to his wants during the course of a year. This result, I submit, it is hopeless to expect unless some such measure as is advocated herein be adopted. Under these circumstances, I confidently commend the whole subject for the consideration of the Right Hon. the Secretary of State, with whom now rests the final responsibility of deciding whether a method which has been tried, and which has been found wanting, shall be continued, or whether he will insist that these Indian immigrant children shall, in future, receive such small measure of education as ought to be provided for every human being in all settled and civilized portions of His Majesty's dominions.

Finally, on October 26, 1904, Mr. Wise forwarded a lengthy communication from Mr. Sidney Long, of Matale, Ceylon, with the following covering letter :

I have the honour to forward herewith a letter from Mr. Sidney Long, of Matale, Ceylon, dated September 13, 1904, which appeared in the *Ceylon Observer*, and contains comments upon the report by Mr. S. M. Burrows, C.C.S., on "The Education of Immigrant Tamil Coolie Children employed on Estates."

I beg that you will be good enough to lay the same before the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the favour of his perusal, inasmuch as Mr. Long disputes the accuracy of Mr. Burrows' figures, a reduction of 50 per cent. in the number of boys who have acquired education being necessary (in Mr. Long's opinion) to be correct, resulting in a total average of only two children per estate who have received the rudiments of education.

Mr. Long, who has resided many years in Ceylon, also is of opinion that the present "line schools," on which Mr. Burrows lays so much stress, are quite "incapable of sufficient expansion for admitted needs," and explains very clearly the nature of the so-called "line schools." A line school, as Mr. Long points out, is merely a class founded by a "kangani" (or native overseer) for the benefit of his own children and two or three other boys *of the same caste*, and is incapable of much development. It educates "some favoured children in one set of lines, and perhaps a few outsiders ; it might be developed to educate just a few more, and that is all." It is, therefore, clear that the *mere multiplication* of these "line schools" will *not* meet the necessities of the case. It is certain that unless something in the nature of pressure be brought to bear on the planters to start schools on a proper basis the results cannot be satisfactory.

In view of the decision of the Secretary of State, it is to be feared that nothing more can be done at present. It will now rest upon the planters themselves whether the modified scheme sanctioned by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton can be accepted as a final solution of the problem. Members of the Local Legislative Council are believed to be strongly in favour of something approaching compulsion, especially the Hon. J. Ferguson, C.M.G., who, it may be confidently anticipated, will not rest satisfied with half-measures. These Tamil children have as much right to receive a simple education as to breathe the air, and the sooner the local Government recognise this very elementary fact the better it will be for all concerned, labourers as well

as their employers, to whose truest interest it is to remove the stain of gross ignorance in which at present the coolies are suffered to remain, thus falling easy victims of their "kanganies" and native shopkeepers. The coolie should have at least enough education to enable him to protect his own interests, and prevent himself from being swindled by a set of unscrupulous rogues of his own nationality.

## NORTHERN NIGERIA.

Sir F. Lugard's report \* on the condition and administration of Northern Nigeria, presented to Parliament in December, 1903, reads like a romance. It treats not only of the general political affairs of the whole region, but also gives details of the staff, taxation, railways, courts of justice, climate, public works, and numerous other subjects of great interest. His general review of the provinces is as follows :

"At the beginning of the financial year 1902-1903, the Protectorate consisted of thirteen provinces, and the operations which I have described have added three more, making a total of sixteen, for which provision has been made in the estimates of the year 1903-1904. The whole Protectorate has now been taken under administrative control, and it is important to recollect that by so doing we have not added new territory and new responsibilities to the Empire, but have simply recognised those which we had already accepted. My task has not been to annex new kingdoms, but to endeavour to fulfil the obligations and responsibilities to which we have pledged ourselves with regard to the territory placed under my charge. The new provinces are Sokoto, Kano (including Katsena), and Katagum (or Damergeram), lying to the east of Kano and between it and Bornu."

Referring to the climate, he says :

"The climate of Northern Nigeria, situated as it is

\* Parliamentary Colonial Reports, No. 409, 1903.

between the seventh and fourteenth parallels of north latitude, is, of course, tropical, but the prevalence of the 'Hamattan' wind, which blows from the north-east for half the year or more, modifies the temperature in a very marked and even extraordinary degree. This wind, coming from the dry desert of the Sahara, is singularly devoid of moisture, and the evaporation produced when it meets the moist air of the Niger Valley, and even in the plains to the north, results in a great fall of temperature. In the extreme case, where the wind, without having absorbed any moisture, meets the mists and vapours of Lake Chad, I believe that the temperature falls below freezing-point. Generally speaking, throughout Northern Nigeria the nights are cold for the greater part of the year. During the rainy season, July to November, the atmosphere is laden with moisture, and a 'damp heat' results. For the rest of the year the 'Hamattan' and the total absence of rain render the air extraordinarily dry. The climate of Northern Nigeria is probably far more healthy than that of the coast, to the climate of which it only approximates in the close vicinity of the river. The highlands of Bautshi enjoy a charming climate, and throughout the greater part of the country the climate is not, I think, exceptionally trying. The health of Europeans in the centres of Lokoja and Zungeru has been improved in a very marked degree by the better housing, the sanitation, and the better means of living, which have been introduced in the last year or two."



## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

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GEORGE BELL AND SONS; LONDON, 1903.

1. *Nyasaland under the Foreign Office*, by H. L. DUFF. The writer rightly says that there is no part, perhaps, of the British possessions so little known as the one which is the subject of this book, and therefore, although the book is a trifle too long for the matter contained in it, we must welcome it and its information. The book begins with a somewhat confused account of the foundation of British influence in Nyasaland after Livingstone's death, including wars under the leadership of Lugard and Johnston, until the British Protectorate over Nyasaland and Shiré was declared in 1891. Sir Harry Johnston administered the country from 1891-1896, and was succeeded by Sir Alfred Sharpe, and a good account is given of the British Protectorate and its government, which the author thinks well suited to the natives of the country. The writer's connection with the country began when he obtained a post there in 1897 at the time when the British were engaged in quelling the Angoni at Zomba. He gives a good account of the flora, fauna, and the big game of the country, and in his chapter on the *Ulendo*, or expedition, shows the popularity of a successful hunter. The most interesting part of the book, perhaps, is the account of the natives. The total population of the country is estimated at over 845,000, and stress is laid upon the fact that they are not decreasing with white immigration. The natives are generally robust, particularly the Wa-Yao, and a *tenga-tenga*, or porter, thinks nothing of walking thirty miles with a load of 60 pounds on his head between sunrise and sunset. Mr. Duff strongly objects to the Central Africans being styled "brothers," though he thinks well of them on the whole. He points out their good humour and hospitality, and thinks that their treachery, cruelty, and hostility to other tribes all arise from the former insecurity of life before the advent of European Government. The low position of women is noticeable, however, and the curious line of the Wa-Yao succession, which goes first to brothers in their order, and then to sons of the eldest sister. One chapter is given to native rites, and the writer tries to see some good in initiation ceremonies; in another, native industries are glanced at. The missionary question is also dealt with, and while the benefits missions have conferred on Africa since the time of the great Livingstone are fully recognised, the many difficulties the missionaries have caused are also pointed out.—F. S.

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CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS; AVE MARIA LANE, E.C., 1904.

2. *The Nizám*, by R. PATON MCAULIFFE, B.A. This is a short treatise, in something over eighty pages, on the origin and future of the Hydarábád State, being the La Bas prize essay for 1894. The preface consists of an informing and clearly-written introduction to the subject,

and in the closing pages of the volume we have, in alphabetical order, a long list of the authorities from which the details of the work have been collected. But we do not see in this list any mention of the *Statesman* newspaper (Calcutta). Should the author ever prepare a second edition of his essay, he might obtain much first-hand and *bonâ-fide* information on this whole subject in the files of that powerful and well-written journal for the later seventies and the early eighties.

In four substantially-written chapters, such as might be easily read through at a sitting, Mr. McAuliffe gives a condensed account of the origin of the Hydarâbâd State, and of the rise and history of the Nizâms and their Government. This is not the first time that such compilations have appeared, but the present work may be said to present the tangled and somewhat labyrinthine web of Hydarâbâd politics in the briefest compass and most handy form. Hydarâbâd, the largest of the native States of India, has been our Government's greatest problem ever since we have been the paramount Power in that great continent. In the present volume we have a condensed account of the personal intrigues and party squabbles that have for the last 150 years rendered that State notorious in the history of India, and which have retarded the advancement of one of the richest and most productive portions of the country. The reader will here peruse once again the story of the "Subsidiary Allowance," of the origin of the "Hydarâbâd Contingent," of the "Berâr Grievance," the "Assigned Districts," etc., all of which have been the dismay of successive Governors from Warren Hastings down to the present Viceroy. The author traces up to date the nature and constitution of the Hydarâbâd Government, the numerous wars, the border politics, and the internal administration. The work forms a most important chapter in the history of India in general, and of the Nizâms in particular. It is pleasing to be able to add that the present Nizâm has long manifested a peaceful and practicable disposition as well to his own people as towards the Imperial Government. The printing and get-up of the volume are such as to leave nothing to be desired; but the writing, which begins admirably, deteriorates towards the close. The forms "Guzarat" and "Asirghar" on p. 8 require revision; in the closing chapters there are even some slips in grammar.—B.

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CLARENDON PRESS; OXFORD, 1904.

3. *The Early History of India from 600 B.C. to the Muhammadan Conquest, including the Invasion of Alexander the Great*, by VINCENT A. SMITH. In this scholarly volume will be found an admirable foundation for any future historian of India to build upon. Carefully compiled from all available Sanscrit, Pali, Chinese, and Greek sources, it stands out as an example of careful work. Strict comparison has been necessary in every case to test the value of evidence contained in these obscure sources, and Mr. Smith is to be congratulated on his success, as he has made out of these materials not only a valuable, but an interesting book.

As the writer points out, it is with the Aryan kingdoms that his work is mainly concerned, and that as yet hardly anything is known of the early history of the Dravidian races. About the sixth century B.C. history begins, and Kosala (the modern Oudh) and Maghada (Bihar) were already settled kingdoms at the time when Vardhamāna Mahavira founded the Jain and Ghautama the Buddhist religious systems. The majority of the early kings are mere names in the dynastic lists, however, until the rise of Chandra Gupta Maurya (321 B.C.), who seized the throne of Maghada two years after the death of Alexander the Great. To the campaign of Alexander two chapters are devoted, and many of Cunningham's theories upon the conqueror's route are corrected. His retreat is very carefully narrated, and stress is laid upon the slight influence the invasion left behind. Alexander's death allowed Chandra Gupta to lead a native revolt against his invaders, and he was soon ruler of India from Bihar to Kandahar, an empire consolidated and benevolently ruled by his grandson, the great Asoka. A most interesting account is given of the last evidences of his Buddhistic piety, and pilgrimages are quoted from his celebrated inscriptions, and it is shown that his religious missions extended in the South to Pandya, Chola, and Ceylon, and to the Hellenistic kingdoms of the West, where they certainly influenced the Gnostics. The Brahmanical reaction probably began with the Sunga dynasty, and inspired the formation of the Mahayana Buddhists. Under this dynasty another Hellenistic invasion—under Menander, of Bactria, in 155-153 B.C.—threatened the Panjab. It in its turn was followed by the Kānva and the Andhra rulers, in whose time appear new conquerors, the Sakas—perhaps of Turki origin—who were also to play their part. The history of the Indo-Greek princes of Bactria forms an interesting chapter, and how they merged into the Eastern nations is well exemplified by their coins, which begin with the ruler's head and Greek inscriptions, gradually become bilingual, and end by bearing the imprint of a camel and a Brahman bull. The claims of St. Thomas to be the Apostle of Parthia are discussed in this chapter also. Mr. Smith is strongly of opinion that though part of the Panjab was under Greek sway for more than two centuries, and though Greek was the language of the rulers, little European influence filtered into India until the Roman period, the abundance of Roman coins in India proving the extent of the trade with the Turki rulers in the North, whose rule extended as far as Khotan, and through whose influence Buddhism gained a firm footing in China. The Gupta dynasty ruled in Bihar and Oudh from A.D. 320 to 455, and established a firm empire, visited by Fa Hian in the time of Chandra Gupta II. Vikramāditya. It was overthrown in its turn by the Huns, and after their extinction we have an account of Harsha, a ruler who desired to bring all India "under one umbrella," and partly succeeded, as is shown by the descriptions of another Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang. From this period dynasty followed dynasty, and there was little dream of universal dominion until the twelfth century brought the Muhammadan invasion into India.—F. S.

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A. CONSTABLE AND CO.; 16, JAMES STREET, HAYMARKET, S.W.,  
1904.

4. *The Second Afghan War*, Vol. II., 1878-1880, by COLONEL H. B. HANNA. The first volume of this important review of the second Afghan War appeared nearly five years ago, and was noticed in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for April, 1900. The entire work has reference to the invasion of Afghanistan by the British in the days when the late Lord Lytton was by the arrangement of Lord Beaconsfield sent out to occupy the exalted position of "Viceroy of India." The perils of that tumultuous time are well within the recollection of men still living. The very "stars in their courses" appeared to be fighting against us in those luckless days. To the miseries which ordinarily attend the life of the native of India there were added heat and drought extraordinarily prolonged—general failure of the rains for two years in succession, followed by the rise of the cost of living to famine prices. It was estimated by the authorities that many millions of the poorer classes died of starvation, while large numbers of draught cattle, left homeless through the death of their owners, wandered all over the land from district to district in search of any stray bit of sunburnt grass.

Of course, *all* the facts relating to that most ill-advised campaign are not given in these volumes; such a thing would have been impossible. The half has not been told, nor ever will be. We could ourselves relate facts that would astonish many, and which doubtless never came within the knowledge of the author of these volumes. The only tangible ground for the war pleaded by Lord Beaconsfield was the need of a "scientific frontier." There may have been secrets at the back of this plea that were known to him. But he never disclosed them, nor do we find in the present work any evidence that any such secrets of State were known by others than himself. Even the British Government is not always inerrant. This was admitted by the late Lord Salisbury when he confessed that in the Crimean imbroglio John Bull had "placed his money on the wrong horse." The Afghan War was, like the late Boer War, our own seeking, and might easily have been avoided if there had been on the part of our own Government a desire for peace. The same remark, precisely, holds good in regard to the deplorable and calamitous campaign the history of which is placed before us in these volumes.

It is refreshing to see, in the publication of this work, that the true rationale of the second Afghan War has at length been permitted to see the light. That such a straightforward narrative of the facts should have issued from the pen of a brave soldier who was in the thick of the strife is a justification of the attitude assumed by experienced Governors at the time. The earnest and dignified appeals to Lord Beaconsfield, even up to the last moment, not to compromise his Queen and her people by forcing them into a war for which there was no honourable excuse were treated with a contemptuous and off-hand disregard which every well-informed servant of the Crown viewed with dismay. It was then predicted

by certain sections of the English and Anglo-Indian press that, when in after-times the history of that war in its true inwardness came to be written, it would have to be acknowledged that the British Queen and nation had been betrayed. The soundness of this prediction is proved, after a quarter of a century, by the appearance of these volumes.

We should remark that the map of India given in this volume is not by any means adequate in point of fulness, nor is it quite accurate. There are some curious misspellings of English words, such as "merchandize," and there are also some mistakes in the transliterating of Indian proper names and epithets, such as "Akhand" (!). But a truce to fault-finding. The work is fitted to be most interesting to some of the leading classes of the community in all parts of our Empire, notably to soldiers, statesmen, journalists, historians, and intelligent patriots everywhere.—B.

HIRCHFELD BROS., LIMITED; LONDON, 1904.

5. *Hirschfeld's Japanese Grammar*, by H. J. WEINTZ. This grammar contains all necessary instruction for the student who is taking up the study of the Japanese language for the first time. Mr. H. J. Weintz's method is concise and simple; he points out peculiarities of the syntax, and also the mode of constructing sentences, which is diverse to our own. Many Japanese grammars have been already compiled—by Mr. Aston, Mr. Tatsui Baba, Mr. Mutsu, Professor Léon de Rosny, and others, each arranged upon a system peculiar to the individual author's manner of teaching Japanese.

It is Mr. Weintz's wish to enable the student to study Japanese without a master, and in view of adding value to his pages, he tells us that each phrase and sentence given is quoted from the work of some eminent author. This research should bear witness to his own ability to compile an able and important work.

Those whose aim is to bring into closer brotherhood of thought different races of the earth, and who endeavour thereby to strengthen the bonds of friendship between East and West, are doing good service, though they may be sowing for others to reap. We do not, however, agree with Mr. Weintz in his suggestion of dispensing with the native Japanese syllabary. The construction of it is extremely simple. We have so little to record that is absolutely invented by the Japanese themselves that we are glad to know the Japanese syllabary *was* originated by one of their own learned men. Kōbō Daishi, the saintly bonze, who travelled West for the purpose of reforming and enlightening his people, claims the honour of this invention. He was born in 774, and died in A.D. 835; and as this syllabary has existed nearly 1,200 years, we should indeed be sorry to see it laid aside, particularly in these enlightened times, when the learning of languages is made such an easy matter. Moreover, this syllabary, both in the *Katakana* and *Hiragana* forms, has influenced by its graceful curves and masterly touches the fine arts of Japan—those arts which are without dispute more unique and more advanced than those of

any other Oriental country. While the dispute concerning dead languages is under discussion, we should be glad to hear that our universities will consider the growing importance of young men studying the Oriental tongue of those nations to which inevitable circumstances draws us daily, thus strengthening a close and friendly alliance. Already the Japanese are outstripping us in writing books of considerable merit in *English*. These works are valuable additions to our libraries, both as regards style and the information they impart.—S.

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HODDER AND STOUGHTON; LONDON, 1904.

6. *A Yankee on the Yangtze*, by WILLIAM EDGAR GEIL. This book has an exceedingly unpleasant flavour about it. Without being either witty or humorous, the author deliberately lays himself out on every page to be excruciatingly funny, and the "fun" is invariably of the tawdriest and paltriest description. He is evidently, notwithstanding, a man of some scholarship—at least, if we are to judge by the unusual number of Latin and Greek quotations he scatters more or less relevantly over his book; one, by the way, incorrectly given (p. 122); but the elegant *mots* of the ancients contrast sadly with the lame modern vulgarity of the author's clumsy jokes. We are first of all considerably mystified about a "P.T." which accompanies him like a Little Mary (and, indeed, he uses the term "Little Mary," p. 194, once in talking, as Americans are much too prone to do, of his stomach). It is only towards the end of the book (p. 301) that we find out what "P.T." is—*i.e.*, a pigtail, which he declined to wear. We are left in doubt for some time who and what the author himself is, but at last the coy truth pops out, and half a dozen photographs of himself appear by instalments. We are led to suppose he was a "big bug" (p. 214), and a "mandarin" entitled to expect viceroys to receive him. He measured 6 feet 3 inches in height; had travelled for four years; had fished in the Sea of Galilee, and visited Papua; weighed only 240 pounds (less 120 pounds for his sedan chair), etc. His patronage of missionaries is aggressive but condescending: "Be it remembered that what the Consuls know, and the public generally, comes for the most part from these same mission-workers" (p. 56). On the other hand: "I would give another kindly word of caution to the missionaries—avoid hobby-riding. Let this be written large! Let the cranks at home ride hobbies. Keep off side-tracks! Take bile pills when the liver is out of order." The Viceroy, Lin Shao-yüan, received him with reserve, but warmed up at last when "I told him, as an American, I believed in China for the Chinese." But, alas! on page 289 we read: "The Chinese are confirmed liars. They lie 'from way back' and away forward, etc." Sometimes it is quite impossible to know what on earth he is driving at. Thus (p. 15): "'Early Rice' was served up wet at 8.45 a.m. . . . The room was not encumbered with artistic *cachet*, but was full of penumbra. Indeed, the room was chiefly furnished with good penumbra. . . . There were penumbra everywhere. . . . And it was of good quality, not the pale, thin article one oftentimes finds among

dark-skinned native races. This penumbra would have delighted the heart of a white ant." His "funny" way of translating Chinese names is absolutely grotesque; instead of telling us plainly that the Panthay Sultan was called Tu Wên-siu, he says "the name of the Moslem leader was 'The Good-looking Literary Sprout.'" It would be just as reasonable to tell the Chinese that a man called Benedict Bacon enjoyed the name of "Blessed Side of a Pig." In a word, the whole book is written in the most irritating, not to say offensive, style, and we are surprised at Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton for allowing it to issue from their press. Still, it possesses some redeeming features. On the rare occasions when the author soars beyond his petty personal experiences—as, for instance, when he tells us about the late Viceroy Ts'ên Yüh-ying, or gives us a sketch of the Tai and Htai divisions of the Shan race—he is not inaccurate; his numerous photographs are excellent; his views on the stupid United States practice of employing Chinese as translators are correct. The present reviewer, having been over most of the same ground, both in China and Burma, can certify to the general accuracy of his specific observations; the Chinese sayings with which he garnishes the heading of each chapter are in nearly every instance faultlessly printed and faultlessly translated; and, indeed, if the author had only been able to swallow fewer of his "bile pills," and indulge in a little genuine melancholy or gravity instead of boring us with his vapid funniness, he might have written a fairly interesting book of travel, even though he has not stepped over a yard of new ground, seen one single novelty, or told us one solitary fresh thing.—E. H. PARKER.

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LAWRENCE AND BULLEN; 11, HENRIETTA STREET, LONDON, W.C., 1904.

7. *Further India*, by HUGH CLIFFORD, C.M.G. ("Story of Exploration Series"). Whether the modern "Further India" was the ophir of King Solomon or the golden Chersonese of the ancients is a matter of little importance; but the reason why this vast country, tropical and rich, which possessed the ancient civilization of the Khmers, had been subject to much Hindu influence, and which was under the shadow of China, should have been so unknown to the West until medieval times is of the greatest interest. Mr. Clifford, in this valuable addition to an already valuable series, has given an excellent account of how this ignorance was dispelled—a difficult record of a long line of small explorations.

In spite of Ptolemy and a few monkish allusions, we have no real record of Further India until Marco Polo appears. It was left to the knowledge and exploitation of the active and aggressive Arab traders on the one side, and to a few embassies from China on the other. Marco Polo in 1296, however, left an account—albeit, a confused one—of the Archipelago and the countries surrounding it—the first European to do so. He was followed by Odoric, a Franciscan Friar (1318-1330), who describes Java, "the second best of islands," and then Ibn Batuta, the ubiquitous. The author points out that, scanty though the records are, they show the ease

with which Europeans traversed the East before the coming of the Filibusters made their name an evil omen.

With the coming of Vasco da Gama there came also a great increase in the knowledge of Further India, but, generally speaking, of its coasts only, as the Portuguese settlers and pirates (it is difficult to differentiate them) cared little for exploration inland unconnected with trade, and their high-handed treatment of the natives made the latter unwilling to throw open their lands to the invaders. In 1508 they attempted to conquer Malacca, and the town itself was taken in 1511 by Albuquerque. With Malacca as a base, Portuguese forts spread all over the Indo-Chinese seaboard, and embassies were sent to Siam. The most interesting account left by the Portuguese explorers of their journeys is, perhaps, that of the well-known Mendez Pinto (1540-1541). Then came the English sailors Raymond and Lancaster, who, in 1591, began their piratical course; and when, in 1596, Jan van Linschoten published his "*Voyages*," a real blow was dealt to the Portuguese, as the book exposed their weakness in the East. From this time onward continued fighting between the Portuguese and the Dutch, who now appeared on the scene, added much to the Western knowledge of the Archipelago, and in 1602 the British East India Company reached Acheh with a letter from Queen Elizabeth, and soon held forts in Java and Sumatra until driven out of the former island by Dutch hostility. Mr. Clifford hardly touches upon the early English explorers in the Malay Peninsula, and dismisses their settlements in a paragraph. Yet Francis Light, the first Governor of Penang, sent many descriptive despatches to Warren Hastings, wrote a monograph on Junk Ceylon, and an account of Quedah, inspired by him, was printed in 1808; but he is, nevertheless, right when he says that general knowledge of the country has only come since the foresight of Sir Stamford Raffles acquired Singapore for the British in 1819. The difficult negotiations with Burma and Siam are well described, and we have the stirring career of Constantine Phaulkon as a central figure surrounded by the Jesuit missionaries, through whom we obtained many sources of knowledge. The British and French Embassies to Burma, Siam, and Annam cleared away more darkness, and culminated, in the former and latter cases, in annexation.

From this time the book becomes more of a narrative character. It has to deal largely with the attractive French traveller François Garnier, who with M. de Lagrée commenced their famous expedition up the Mekong in 1866. Their visit to the ruined city of Angkor in Kambodia gives Mr. Clifford an opportunity of a welcome digression on the problem of the too little known Khmer civilization. They journeyed together, or separately, from Penh to Ubon, and then to the little-known Luang Prabang, where another explorer, Mouhot, had died of fever in 1861. They continued their explorations through the Shan States (partly in country traversed by McLeod in 1837) to the unknown Yun-Nan, then in the throes of the Muhammadan rebellion, as far as the rebel capital Ta-li-fu. De Lagrée died on one of the journeys, and it was Garnier who returned to recount the difficulties and dangers of the two years' expedition.



The exploration of Burma was pushed on after the Burmese War of 1826, and we meet the names of Pemberton, Richardson, and J. S. Hannay, who travelled up the Irrawadi to Bhamo. Many other explorers followed, and after the second war there was in 1855 the expedition of Phayre and Henry Yule. The latter in 1856 codified the results of former expeditions, and produced a map of Burma. In 1868 Sladen made his expedition to the Shan States, and the ill-fated Margary traversed from Shanghai to Bhamo in 1871, and these have been preceded and followed by explorers, missionaries, and merchants. The spread of the British influence in the Malay Peninsula since 1874 has thrown open that *terra incognita* also, and there now remains in the whole of Further India few secrets with the exception of the source of two rivers and some dark jungle spots, and the history of the explorations and political changes which have produced this knowledge in the West can be read in this excellent book.—F. S.

8. *The Penetration of Arabia*, by DAVID GEORGE HOGARTH, M.A., F.R.G.S. Unlike the first book of this series ("The Story of Exploration Series," edited by J. Scott Keltie, LL.D.), which was "The Nile Quest," by Sir Harry Johnston, this book has no clearly defined focus, and so it is rather difficult to follow, although carefully compiled and well written. The author has divided the work on this account into separate geographical divisions, and has endeavoured to show the extent of exploration each part has undergone since the days of the Greeks.

The European travellers who have explored Arabia have not—as in Egypt—been impelled by any definite object, and we owe our still imperfect knowledge of the peninsula to thirst for adventure and individual enterprise entirely. Arabia has never been thoroughly known to the West. The Byzantine Court knew it only as "the land of gold and incense and winged serpents," and the rise of the Moslem power cut off the means of more certain knowledge from Europe. In spite of individual travellers, therefore, such as Varthema in 1510 and the Portuguese in Ormuzd and Oman, as well as the numerous renegades, the occidental knowledge until the days of Niebuhr remained much the same as it had been in the time of Ptolemy of Alexandria.

"The Pioneers" is the first division of the book, and in Carsten Niebuhr the Dane we have the first of the modern travellers who have done so much to clear away the geographical mists. He alone survived of this first real scientific expedition, which, despatched by the Danish Government, went to Arabia in 1762, and his observations have been the foundations of most of our modern knowledge of the country.

The rise of the Wahabi power and the conquests of Mehemet Ali interrupted exploration again for a time, one traveller, Seetzen, being murdered, and the next European of note was the Swiss Burckhardt, who as Ibrahim ibn Abd'Allah made the *Haj* in 1814, and left a description of the Holy Cities to which even R. F. Burton in 1854 could add little. He was followed, in different parts of Arabia, by Wallin—an envoy for Mehemet Ali—Botta, also in Egyptian employ, Wellstead, Sadlier, and Arnaud.

Mr. Hogarth, after dealing with the Fathers of Arabian exploration, next deals with their successors. The occupation of Aden, effected by the British in 1839, dispelled very little darkness, but gradually the whole of Arabia except the centre has opened before a legion of self-sacrificing explorers. There is no need to enumerate all, but they include Burton, who in 1877 explored Midian when prospecting for gold; the Dutch Snouck Hurgronjé, who made the *Haj* in 1885; Manzoni, who visited Sana in 1877, Millingen further north, followed by Deslers, H. Burckhardt, and Glaser. Miles in 1870 had explored the southern borders, and Pelly in 1864, Riad. Nejd can boast as explorers Palgrave, Guarmani, Halévy, Euting, the charming writer C. Montagu Doughty, W. S. Blunt and Lady Anne Blunt in 1879, and Nolde in 1883.

The Jewish explorers have helped much in opening up the land of their Semitic kinsfolk. The best known of these, perhaps, was the romantic W. G. Palgrave; but they can claim also among others Ali Bey (Domingo Badia y Leblich) in 1813, whose MSS. seem to have been rescued by Lady Hester Stanhope; Wolff the missionary; and Joseph Halévy, the explorer of Nejran in 1869.

It is difficult not to regret that Mr. Hogarth should by the strict limits he has set himself, which only allow notices of the explorers themselves and of the geographers (to whom due praise is given) who helped by their labours, not be able to tell us more of the renegade adventurers in Arabia; but the fault is no doubt theirs, not his. Nevertheless, one longs to have more than the mere mention of the career of Thomas Keith, late a private in the 79th Highlanders and Agha of Mamelukes, who was in 1815 Governor of the Holy City of Medina.—F. S.

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ERNEST LEROUX, ÉDITEUR, RUE BONAPARTE, 28; PARIS, IMPRIMERIE NATIONALE, 1904.

9. *Nan-Tchao Ye-Che: Histoire Particulière du Nan-Tchao*. Traduction d'une Histoire de l'Ancien Yün Nan, accompagnée d'une carte et d'un lexique géographique et historique, par CAMILLE SAINSON, Vice-Consul de France à Ho-K'ou.—M. Sainson has made excellent use of the abundant leisure which a residence at Hokow implies. The "port" was opened in 1895, and, besides being the terminus of the Yün Nan railway, is the residence of a French Vice-Consul, under the French Consul at Mêngtsz, from which place it is distant 140 miles. There are, barring railway-men, few, if any, foreign residents, who naturally prefer the lively French garrison town of Laokay, just opposite; in which, too, presumably, M. Sainson has spent and spends most of his lighter hours. The matter of which he here treats is not altogether new, for in the *China Review* (vols. xix. and xx., pp. 67-106 and 337-346) the writer of this notice has already fully treated exactly the same subject, under the titles "The Early Laos and China" and "The Old Thai Empire." Moreover, in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for April, 1900, he published a short notice of M. Rocher's *Histoire des Princes de Yün Nan des Documents Chinois traduits pour la Première Fois* (*sic*), which last statement is

quite a mistake. At present the same reviewer has before him an *original* copy of the *History of Nan-chao* (now translated in full by M. Sainson), dated 1550. M. Sainson has translated from a more modern reprint, dated 1775, and this reprint appears to be quite accurate, except on rare occasions. It may be roughly described as "an account of the origin of the Siamese and Laos races before they left their ancient seat around Tali Fu for the south, and settled in the Ménam Valley." In 1892 the Rev. J. Smith, of Tali Fu, was good enough, at the writer's request, sent from Bhamo, to make personal search for a stone mentioned in the T'ang history of 1,000 years ago. He found it *in situ*, about five miles outside the south gate of the city, and kindly obtained a manuscript copy, so far as it was possible to decipher so weather-worn a document. So little is known in Europe upon this interesting subject that it would be labour almost thrown away to enter into critical details here. It is sufficient to say that M. Sainson's translation does him very great credit as a comparative beginner in Chinese, which, to judge by the numerous mistranslations, he manifestly must be. The majority of the mistranslations, however, in no way discredit him, for they are not as a rule in the sense of the Chinese context, but in the meanings which must be given to foreign words—as, for instance, on p. 15, in explaining the functions of the numerous *shwang*, who *chu*, or "manage," certain public departments.—E. H. P.

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.; PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, 1904.

10. *A Handbook to Agra and the Táj*, by E. B. Havell. This work includes chapters on Sikandra, Fat'hpur Sikri, and other historic places in Agra and its neighbourhood. Books larger than this, and smaller, have appeared in times past dealing with the same subject, the Táj being, as it must ever be, the outstanding object. It is not a work for the learned; it is, rather, a sort of guide-book for globe-trotters and sight-seers, and is written in a style sufficiently "popular" to meet the requirements of persons of that description. To readers of a somewhat higher class the book will be of interest from its epitome of the reigns of the several monarchs of the Mughal dynasty—among whom stands out in "splendid isolation" the singularly forceful, magnanimous, and beautiful character of Akbar, unsurpassed among India's greatest men. The book contains upwards of 130 pages, and, considering its size, it is abundantly illustrated. There are beautifully-executed photogravures of the Táj and other memorials of the Mughals; there are also plans of Fat'hpur Sikri and other important places there which every intelligent traveller and student of history would naturally desire to see.

So far, good; but we shall be excused if we add that, both to the scholar and to the more popular reader, the book will leave some things to be desired. In the first place, we do not quite see the use to the reader of marking the vowel-quantity in the case of some Oriental words and not of others. A person who has not resided in India would discover nothing in this guide-book to guide him to the true sounding of the words "Babar,"

"Akbar," "Fazl," "Jahan," and many others the like. Thus is the reader left to grope entirely in the dark as to the important question of the pronunciation of words among a keen-witted people who instantly detect a false quantity, and stow it away among their "funny" anecdotes about the "págal Angrez." But the author here and there breaks silence on this subject, and marks the quantity. This he does now by altering the vowels (as when he gives us "Boland" and "Baland," both of which are wrong), and now by the accent-mark (as in the case of "Máhabhárata" on p. 3, and "Máhabhárata" on p. 767, thus making "confusion worse confounded"; for neither of these markings is anywhere near the mark. Either of these pronunciations would be fit to fill the author's native friends with dismay as to the linguistic powers of "the conquering race." Where he *does* make an attempt at the pronunciation, he usually contrives to put his reader on the wrong scent. In other respects also, besides pronunciation, the author reveals the shakiness of his information respecting Indian words. On p. 5 he has the curious misspelling "Kokand," leaving his distracted globe-trotter "all at sea"; and the follower of Muḥammad is sometimes a "Mussulman" (p. 3), and sometimes a "Musalman" (p. 22). It is not in human nature to give the form "Begam" (pp. 12, 71, 97, etc.) the correct sound; yet the author offers not his aid. No desire have we to present a complete list of the blemishes of this "Handbook": they simply swarm; but we fear Mr. Havell will need to rub up his linguistics a little if he ever attempt a second edition. He is not at all sure-footed in these matters, and a guide should feel sure of his ground. Such expressions as "bigoted Mussulman" (which occurs *usque ad nauseam* in this book) has not a pleasing sound. It surely is hard that a man who happens to be possessed of religious convictions should be described in such harsh terms as "bigoted" and "fanatical." Better things (more conciliatory and less offensive) might have been expected from a "Fellow of the University of Calcutta." Such a man might, moreover, have been supposed to know that "Jámi" does not mean "Cathedral," as Mr. Havell would lead his untravelled reader to understand (see p. 30, *et passim*). Lastly, seeing that Akbar, "the Greatest of the Mughals," was the founder of what is now known as "Agra" (which to this day is best known as "Akbarábád" by Muḥammadans all over India), the compiler might have supplied his readers with some sort of *likeness* of him, seeing that he has given us one of Sháh Jihán, and seeing that "the Great Mughal" is the principal personage brought before us in the book. There are many other things which we had marked for animadversion; but enough has been said to show in what directions the "Handbook" calls for improvement. As to the printing, the illustrations, the diagrams, and the binding, the workmanship is most excellent.—B.

LUZAC AND CO.; GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, W.C.

11. *The Book of Consolations; or, the Pastoral Epistles of Mar Ishoyab, of Kephlan in Adiabene.* We have to thank Mr. Philip Scott-Moncrieff for a capital edition of Mar Ishoyab's letters—the first set, that is to say, com-

prising those written during his episcopate—and for the promise of the like work on those letters belonging to the subsequent periods of Mar Ishoyabh's activity as Metropolitan and as Catholicos or Patriarch of the Nestorians. This division is clear, and has the advantage of confining each set within the limits of a convenient-sized volume. Type and paper are all that could be desired. The pointing, however, is a little odd, and the vowels are frequently placed over the next letter to that to which they belong, an arrangement which is certainly convenient to the printer, but may be puzzling to a beginner. Except for this we notice very few misprints.

The historical introduction gives a clear and good account of the Bishop and his father, Bastohmagh, rich Persian noblemen, of their relations to Rabban Jacob and his celebrated monastery of Beth-'Abhê, where Ishoyabh was brought up, whence he proceeded to the famous school of Nisibis.

In later life he followed his father's example of munificence and love of building, and gave a fine church to the monastery where he had spent his boyhood. His wish to develop and complete the foundation of his master Rabban Jacob, by adding a large and good school, was thwarted by the objection of the monks to have the tranquillity of their lives interrupted by "the chanting of psalms and services and the noise of schoolboys"! The long and vivid account of their laments and objections, and of the Patriarch's yielding to the force of these, is well known to students of the "*Bibliotheca Orientalis*," or of Dr. Budge's "*Book of Governors*." It is his translation which is here given in full. The sympathetic tone of the monastic chronicler, who sides entirely with his brethren and fails to remark their ingratitude to their benefactor and their selfish disregard even for the future of their own monastery, which this school was designed to feed, well illustrates the difference of ideals of Eastern and Western monasticism. The disregard of the rights of property, as far as the acquisition of relics was concerned, common to both Eastern and Western Christianity in early ages, finds clear demonstration in the account of Mar Ishoyabh's first coveting, next praying for, and finally stealing, a beautiful marble reliquary containing bones of the Apostles, from a church at Antioch. This was on the return of an embassy from Persia to the Emperor Heraclius, which brings Persian church history into touch with the West. These and other interesting histories, however, belong to later periods of Mar Ishoyabh's life than that of which this first instalment of letters shows one side.

The summary of these is not so well done as the introduction; it reproduces too closely the diffuseness and indefiniteness from which Syriac letters seldom escape.

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MACMILLAN AND Co. ; LONDON, 1904.

12. *A Plea for the Better Local Government of Bengal*, by ROBERT CARSTAIRS, I.C.S. (retired). This is a handy-sized volume (pp. 166) on a great subject. The binding, paper, and type are good; the printing is clear and comfortable to read. It is the work of "no 'prentice hand"

It is written in the style of English well known as that of the mature Government official, and there is a certain reserve of power at the back of every sentence. Altogether it is a work admirably suited to be a text-book and guide for the civil officer of Bengal from the commencement of his career to its close. What, however, can be the writer's authority for the spelling "Bramin" awakens our curiosity.

There are few things more bewildering and more annoying to the youthful Englishman on his first arrival in Bengal than the daily discovery of the irreconcilable diversities of the people of that province in respect of religious ideas, caste usages, and racial predilections. As soon as by dint of careful observation he has learned and mentally docketed a certain set of facts, some further additions to his experience upset his calculations in the most humbling fashion, and he has to begin all over again the weary business of "learning the people" among whom he will have to pass his life and discharge the perplexing duties of his "daily round." This, whether he be magistrate, merchant, missionary, or planter. This is the reason why Scotchmen—so justly noted for their quiet self-restraint and their patient plodding—have ever stood in the front rank among Bengal officials, and have achieved the greatest distinction.

The present volume is fitted to help the young civilian over the rough places of his early experience. It is an admirable introduction to life in the Bengal province, and it affords the helpful guidance which might be expected from one who, like the author of the work, has passed a long official life in the interior of the province. The primary object of the work is to place on record a number of suggestions for the improvement of the Administration—suggestions which are the outgrowth of ripe experience, the experience of a man who loved his work, who cherished the people among whom he lived, and who has upon him the well known "spell" of India which marks every truly great official. As a means for placing the new arrival in a position to start at the point where older men have left off, this work is helpful in a high degree. The author, *assuming* that his reader is not in need of information as to the geographical, ethnological, commercial, and other more general and popular aspects of the province, gives chapters on the "Village Institutions" and their relation to the Government. He tells of the important subject of the "Pancháyat" system, of the police department, of the subject of roads, of taxation, and of various other branches of administration in the carrying on of the Government and promoting the welfare of the people. On all these matters Mr. Carstairs has useful suggestions to offer which have grown out of his own long experience. These suggestions, if "they fall into good ground," will (as we venture to hope) prove valuable seed-thoughts.

One of the principal difficulties in the uplifting of the people of Bengal is found in the inertia and apathy of the people themselves; there is a want of public spirit among all classes, and the born leaders are few. Such essentials it is not in the power of any Government to create; they can only be of public use if they arise spontaneously. The efforts of the District Officer to supply this demand must prove inutile if he have not

adequate support and co-operation among the Bengális themselves. And even all District Officers have not the same craving for the work—the same zeal, imagination, and genius. Plans well laid and set in operation by one officer are too often either disallowed by his successor in office or neutralized by some different policy and mode of procedure. What with the curious absence of public spirit among the Bengális as a people, and what with the variations of policy or temper in successive administrators, uniformity and continuity of procedure are well-nigh impossible of attainment. Whence, as the author points out (p. 80), although the truism that “Roads are a necessity of civilization” is accepted in theory by the Bengal Government, yet the Government has failed to give effect to it in practice. This, by the way, is but a sample of the plain speaking of the author in his criticisms of the powers that be. But the comparative slowness of progress in Bengal must not be permitted to obscure the fact that much—very much—progress has been made in the raising and improvement of the condition of the people. That work is still going on while we write, and much credit is due to those officers of the Government who, amidst untold difficulties, are still doing their very best with such means as they have at command to gradually transform the condition of life of a race of people whom it is not easy to improve. Altogether this book “marks time” in the matter of all branches of our public work in the great province; nor only so, for it is also admirably fitted to be a constant companion and guide to those with whom the future welfare of Bengal must so largely rest.—B.

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E. MARLBOROUGH AND CO., LONDON.

13. *Japanese Grammar Self Taught*, by H. J. WEINTZ, is another and smaller work by the same author. It is constructed much on the same system as his fuller undertaking, but seems, by the tone of the conversation, to be adapted for commercial men, travellers, and tourists. It is published in a handy pocket form. Pronunciation, accents, syllabary, parts of speech, and other items, are carefully considered. The vocabularies at the end are extremely useful; also the lists of weights and measures, money, etc. The list of phonetic pronunciations should also prove interesting. We are glad to find Mr. Weintz has not excluded from this little grammar the *Katakana* and *Hiragana* syllabaries. They will prove useful to travellers, to decipher shop and hotel signs, prices of goods, and other pieces of information that are displayed in the country towns by those Japanese who do not run the risk of exposing their insufficient mastery of English.—S.

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HORACE MARSHALL AND SON, TEMPLE AVENUE, LONDON, E.C., 1904.

14. *The Sportsman's Book for India*, edited by F. G. AFLALO. This is a thick volume (pp. xii, 567). There is a good map of India at the beginning and several smaller maps in the course of the work; there are also upwards of forty well-executed photogravures of interesting localities.

or events, a list of contents, and a very good index. The ground covered is that of shooting, fishing, and hunting, together with golf, boating, and other exhilarating forms of exercise which are so largely in use among Anglo-Indians. Author of the volume there is none, but it consists of a series of well-written papers contributed by gentlemen bearing names more or less known and honoured in sporting circles, the whole being edited by Mr. F. G. Aflalo. His introductory paragraphs contain an intelligent account of Indian sports, bringing the whole subject up to date. It is fitted to be a book largely in request among sportsmen for many a year to come, and every regimental and station library will doubtless be furnished with copies. The work is dedicated, by permission, to Lord Kitchener, the present Commander-in-Chief of our army in India, and the contributions bear the well-known names Gerard, Kinloch, Bairnsfather, Clay, Neville, Taylor, Arbuthnot, Burke, Gadsdan, and Harry Stokes—names which guarantee that the work will be found to place the whole subject on a secure and modern footing. The papers contributed are not by any means dry nor too technical. They are full of lively incident about places, people, and prey—of “moving accidents by flood and field.” There is nothing trumpery about the volume; it is written in capital spirit and in dignified English *by gentlemen for gentlemen*. The whole treatise is so choice that it is hardly possible, in the space at our disposal, to select specimens; enthusiastic lovers of sport will get it and read it for themselves. The work “marks time” in the business of which it treats, and we do not hesitate to predict for it an eager welcome and a widely-extended popularity, not among Anglo-Indians only, but also among Englishmen and Americans of all ranks and classes who are interested in healthy sports and games.—B.

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JOHN MURRAY; LONDON, 1904.

15. *The Heart of a Continent*: A Narrative of Travels in Manchuria, across the Gobi Desert, through the Himalayas, the Pamirs, and Hunza, by COLONEL F. E. YOUNGHUSBAND, C.I.E. This is another reprint, in cheaper form, of a work already well known, the first edition of which appeared in 1896. Two chapters are omitted, making the work more than it formerly was an account of the author's travels. The present is the fourth edition. In less than one year (1896-1897) the work was reissued as many as five times. Better recommendation could hardly be given. The book had the advantage of appearing in the very nick of time, and of covering a most important period of Asiatic history. “Manchuria” has been on everybody's lips for years past. Turning, however, to the book itself, and viewing it on its own merits as a literary achievement and as a narrative of adventure, and apart altogether from the question of the opportuneness of its appearance, we have nothing but praise for it.

There are travellers and travellers. Ideals differ even here. Burton used, in his own magnanimous way, to speak of his great predecessor



Burckhardt as "the prince of travellers," but Burton took the shine out of Burckhardt. Burton was a *learned* man in quite an unusual sense of the word. He took within him, in whatever lands he travelled, that inward stock of scientific enlightenment and language-lore the lack of which our present author deplores (see pp. ix, x). The result was that Burton made all things live—whatever he touched. He went for a summer to Iceland, and he told us, in two weighty volumes, what no traveller or scientist ever told us before about that interesting region. He spent a short term of years in the Brazil, and he made it for scientists ever afterwards a live picture. And so with the country of Dahomey, with Midian, and with Zanzibar and the land of the Somál. It is everywhere the same—the splendid story of "the Hajj" over again. Wherever he went—to old worlds or to new—he brought to light scientific facts which up to his time were not within the knowledge of scientific men. Had he been permitted by the late Lord Salisbury to succeed to the Consulate of Morocco, as for a series of years he was known to fervently desire, he would doubtless have presented the literati of Europe with yet another repertory of learned research. For one sees what he brings with him the power of seeing.

We would not on any account omit to mention a feature of this work which strikes us very favourably. The author evidently does not belong to that class of travellers who have eyes for nothing but the *bad* side of native character. Wherever he goes, moreover, he contrives to find the mission, the missionary, and the Christian native, and while evidently sacrificing nothing of veracity in his remarks regarding them, he is always alive to what is *best* in them; and in the result he gives us a shrewd and well-balanced account of them. We note this with the more pleasure because in this he contrasts favourably with many travellers. We all see in our fellow-men whatever best reflects our own moral condition. Whether the many mission stations our author chanced to meet with were of this denomination or that, his observations are never crude, lopsided, or uncharitable, and they are always such as must commend themselves to men of understanding. In point of style the work is so breezy and chatty that one is irresistibly drawn on to the end of the story; it seems next to impossible to leave off. The style is that of a veracious and honour-bright eye-witness—conversational, but not by any means colloquial. The book is written in the most delightful of literary styles; it is the writing of a man who is full of his subject, and who likes it. It is an *ideal* traveller's style. Burton's style is learned, classical, and clear-cut; but it could hardly be described as fascinating, excepting to readers of highly-cultured literary taste and feeling. Upon the whole, this work affords to the untravelled reader a fine insight into the geographical and ethnical qualities of the lands and peoples of the regions through which the author travelled—their customs, modes of life, occupations, etc.—and it will doubtless inspire other young men to visit unknown places and peoples. The map requires revision; for instance, "Tientsin" is wrongly spelt.—B.

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NEWMAN AND CO., CALCUTTA; SIMPKIN, MARSHALL AND CO., LONDON,  
1904.

16. *Studies*, by B. C. MAHTAB. This book, containing about 90 pp., was printed in Calcutta. The writer bears the honoured title of "Maháráj-Adhiráj," and hails from Burdwan. The "Studies" consist of thirteen chapters dealing with many aspects of native life in Bengal, especially the social aspects. It strikes us as an interesting sign of our times that a young man still firmly adhering to the more ancient form of Hindú doctrine should declare himself so strongly against child-marriage, and so distinctly in favour of female education and the marriage of Hindú widows. It is interesting to see men of such dignity as Mr. Mahtab applying themselves to authorship—to see one who, as in the present instance, occupies by right of birth a position at the very summit of social life writing a work on the social condition of the people around him. Our hope for the welfare of the people of India will never die out as long as such leaders of society show the qualities of leadership. The Mahárája does credit to his noble ancestry.

It is refreshing to find him so fearless in depicting the foibles and failures of his fellow-countrymen; for this he cannot be too highly commended. Nor do we think less favourably of him when he points out the weaknesses of the ruling class. So genial, however, and so gentle withal, are his remarks on this subject that they leave no sting behind. The author readily accounts for such weaknesses by the immaturity of the younger Englishmen in point of experience, and by the fact that in Bengal all English people are but foreigners, persons whose views of native life must in the nature of the case be those of the outsider.

The book is written in a style well suited to the Bengáli type of intellect. There is a very large admixture of Bengáli words and phrases which must go straight to the head and heart of every English-speaking Bengáli. Such phraseology, however, would be wholly unintelligible to English readers who have not resided in Bengal, and would, in their case, not have the piquancy that it would have for the Bengáli. The English of the book, however, is such as would do credit to a well-educated English writer; there is not a trace of "Bábú English" in it. In this respect it is worthy of all praise. The author is a gentleman whom we should like personally to know. He has written one of the most genial and good-tempered books we have seen on this subject for many a day. It is bound to do good, both in this country and in that.—B.

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THE ORIENT PRESS; 168, FLEET STREET, E.C., 1904.

17. *The Sayings of Lao-Tzŭ*, translated from the Chinese, with an introduction, by LIONEL GILES, M.A. (Oxon.), Assistant at the British Museum. The Chinese have a saying, *Yu chwang-yüan 'u-ti, mei chwang-yüan shü-fu*—i.e., "The pupil may be First Wrangler, whilst his tutor is nowhere." Twenty years ago, after twenty years' experience of Chinese

life and literature, Professor Giles of Cambridge came to the conclusion that the *Tao-têh Classic* was an "impudent forgery"; but now the more tolerant son has discovered that "it is possible to trace a coherent line of thought throughout the whole," and, in fact, seems to the present critic to have been selected by his father as a vehicle for withdrawing the latter from an untenable literary position. Mr. Lionel Giles—whose vigorous and lucid English style bears a wondrous resemblance to that of the Cambridge professor, but chastened and moderated—certainly had many years' experience of life in China as a youngster; but it is not on record that he ever in any degree studied Chinese seriously. The commas before and after the three words "with an introduction" would, however, lead us to suppose that he not only wrote the introduction under view, but translated the difficult Chinese work, too. As a matter of fact, the book before us is not a translation at all in the usual sense of the word; the sentences in the original classic have been regrouped so as to form nine fairly homogeneous chapters, just as though we were to cut out all the verses of the Gospels, and redistribute them so as to form consecutive sections on "War," "Humility," "Government," and so on. The plan is ingenious, and it certainly makes Lao-tsz's obscure philosophy sound less incomprehensible to the general. Assuming that Mr. Lionel Giles is not, as above suggested, a "tulchan" suffragan to the real *ἐπίσκοπος* lying *perdu*, we are glad to stand sponsor for the excellence of his work. Under the circumstances, however, it becomes an irksome duty to detach each translated sentence from its artificial place, refer to the place in the Chinese text where it ought to be, and then see if it is correctly translated; but, so far as it is possible to judge by cursory perusal, the individual texts *are* well translated (whether the father or the son really did the work), subject, of course, to reasonable allowances for difference of opinion and obscurity of subject, and we therefore congratulate Professor H. A. Giles on his recantation. It would be more than human on his part to refrain entirely from a plea that this retirement was only effected in order "to lure the enemy on." Accordingly, Mr. Lionel Giles dutifully repeats the extraordinary whilom statement of his father that "the Chinese themselves are almost unanimous in denying its authenticity." *Que sais-je?* Professor H. A. Giles may have convincing evidence up his sleeve to this effect. If so, why not cite chapter and verse? Legge, Chalmers, and Wylie go out of their way to assert the contrary; and the present writer has never once, in perusing over 1,000 Chinese volumes of 2,000 years' history, come across one single Chinese hint that Lao-tsz's Classic has ever once been supposed by any Chinese to be unauthentic. He therefore cannot stand sponsor for Mr. Lionel Giles's name as an authority on Taoism in the same absolute sense in which, almost exactly twenty-nine years ago, he readily stood spiritual sponsor for his name as a "mere man." As to the Classic itself, a word for word translation of the whole was published in the *Dublin Review* for October, 1903, and January, 1904, with ample references enabling anyone, Chinese scholar or otherwise, to "work up" the subject, or to compare translations of individual sentences.—E. H. PARKER.

ELLIOT STOCK ; PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, 1904.

18. *Actual India*, by ARTHUR SAWTELL. This unpretending volume of a little more than 100 pages purports to be an "outline" of the subject for the use of general readers ; it is preceded by a good map of India, and is followed by a very carefully-constructed index. It is from the pen of a practised writer on Indian affairs, the author having had experience in Anglo-Indian journalism. There is no pretence to scholarship, and while the pages are packed with information, and often also with statistics and figures respecting the various branches of the public service and the various industries carried on among all classes of the people, the style is that of the Indian newspaper—popular, chatty, and breezy. Easy flow of ideas, fulness of information, and freedom and geniality of temper, follow as matter of course. There is a certain attractiveness about the sketchy style which enlists attention and draws the reader on from chapter to chapter to the very close of the book. The material is well marshalled out in a series of sections, taking up such questions as the nature of the internal government of the several Presidencies and the political constitution of the governing classes ; the various details of the public expenditure ; the trade and general industry ; the important subject of our foreign and border politics. The reader thus obtains a good idea of the nature, manner, and history of British rule in India, and the position of the English nation there ; nor only so, but he also obtains—and that from the pen of an independent witness—a fair idea of the condition of the governed masses, high and low. Altogether we regard this publication as "marking time" ; it is an opportune contribution to our knowledge of India and its people and affairs, which deserves to be welcomed by the ruling class, and which should find many readers among the middle class of our fellow-subjects, both there and here. We cannot too highly recommend this little work as a *vade-mecum* for the merchant, as a companion for the magistrate and administrator, and as a work of reference to the journalist.—B.

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WILLIAMS AND NORGATE ; LONDON, 1904.

19. *The Rise of English Culture*, by EDWIN JOHNSON, M.A. A book which not only denies the existence of the whole period of the Middle Ages, but ascribes the belief in them to monastic invention, cannot fail to interest us, whether or not we accept its strange conclusions. The book under review does all this and more. Mr. E. S. Petherick has kindly supplied an introductory about the author, his writings and his literary career, to the time when he discovered, as he thought, that the actual writers of the Church and Gospel histories were not ancient, which he followed by writing a denial of the whole system of medieval chronology in the work now before us. The author ascribes the existence of the Middle Ages wholly to the skill and prolific inventive imagination of the Benedictine chroniclers, and pursues the scheme of this conviction to great lengths ; and in reviewing English history has the glorious oppor-

tunity of denying Domesday Book and questioning Magna Charta, as well as tilting at many other facts cherished by our historians. The book, however, cannot be said to have shaken our belief much. We still think the ordinary chronology to be right in the main. It may, however, in spite of this, serve a useful purpose in bringing the minds of those who read it to bear upon the known, but little considered, subject of monastic fictions and mediæval falsifications.—F. S.

#### OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

*Who's Who*, 1905; *Who's Who Year-Book*, 1905; and *The English-woman's Year-Book and Directory*, 1905 (London: Adam and Charles Black, Soho Square). We have received the above three handy and indispensable volumes, got up in the publishers' usual neat style. *Who's Who* may rightly be called a "Biographical Annual," but occurrences of a later date than August 30, 1904, are not recorded in this volume. The *Year-Book* is a book of reference, and a companion to *Who's Who*. In it there appears, for the first time, a list of race meetings, with dates of their fixtures and names of the clerks of the course, tables of leading London specialists, and of preachers of all denominations. *The English-woman's Year-Book*, 1905, is edited by Emily Janes, organizing secretary to the National Union of Women Workers of Great Britain and Ireland, and fully sustains its reputation. It is a handy work of reference, teems with information, and deserves a place in every library.

*The East of Asia Magazine*. An illustrated quarterly (Shanghai: printed and published at the *North China Herald* Office). We have received Part II. of vol. iii. Like the previous numbers, this is extremely well got up, both as regards paper, type, and illustrations. There are articles on "The Imperial University at Taiyuenfu, Shansi," by Professor L. R. O. Bevan; "The White Deer Grotto University," by Carl F. Kupfer, PH.D.; "Confucius," by Archdeacon A. E. Moule; "The Chinese Maiden at Home," by W. A. Cornaby, etc.

*The Annual Report of the Pan-Islamic Society*, 1903-1904 (published by the Pan-Islamic Society, 19, Green Street, London, W.C.). The Report explains the aims and aspirations of the Society, such as to promote the religious, social, moral, and intellectual advancement of the Musulman world; to remove misconceptions prevailing among non-Muslims regarding Islam; to provide facilities for conducting religious ceremonies in non-Muslim countries, etc. A list of members is added at the end.

*Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution*, showing the Operations, Expenditures, and Condition of the Institution for the Year ending June 30, 1902; "Report of the United States National Museum" (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904).

*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, vol. iv., Nos. 1 and 2 (Hanoi: F.-H. Schneider, Imprimeur-Éditeur, 1904). These two numbers are bound up in one part. The title-page and analytical index of vol. iii. accompanies it.

*Report on the Arabic Test to which the Candidates selected for the Civil Services of Egypt and the Sūdān in July, 1903, were subjected in June, 1904*, by EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.B., Sir Thomas Adams Professor of Arabic and Fellow of Pembroke College in the University of Cambridge (Cambridge: at the University Press; London: C. J. Clay and Sons, Cambridge University Press Warehouse, Ave Maria Lane).

*Report of the International Conference on the Situation in the Near East, held in London on June 29, 1904*. With Preface by Right Hon. James Bryce, M.P. (presiding), and F. S. Stevenson, Esq., M.P.; Note on the English Movement, by H. W. Massingham; Note on the Historical Background, by H. N. Brailsford; and a brief account of the recent massacres (Office of *Pro-Armenia*, Westminster Palace Gardens, Victoria Street, S.W.).

*Linguistic Survey of India*. Vol. iii.: "Tibeto-Burman Family." Part II.: "Specimens of the Bodo, Nāgā, and Kachin Groups." Compiled and edited by G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., PH.D., D.LITT., I.C.S. (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent, Government Printing, India, 1903). As in the previous volumes, each group is illustrated by translations and transliterations in the form of folk-lore, stories, etc. The Bodo group includes the languages of the districts Goalpara, Jalpaiguri, Cooch Behar, Nowgong, North Cachar, Dacca, etc. The Nāgā group is divided into the western sub-group Angami, Sema, Rengma or Unzā, and Kezhama; the central sub-group the Aō and Lhotā languages. The eastern sub-group consists of the Angwanku, Chingmegnu, Banpāra, Mutonia, Chang, etc.; the western Nāgā group Mikir, Kachchā Nāgā, Kabin, and Khoirao languages; and, lastly, the Kachin or Singpho group.

*Linguistic Survey of India*. Vol. v.: "Indo-Aryan Family" (eastern group). Part II.: "Specimens of the Bihāri and Oṛiyā Languages." By the same author. This volume treats of the Tibeto-Burman languages of Tibet and North Assam; the Dravido-Munda, Bengali and Assamese, Bihāri and Oṛiyā, Eastern Hindi, Marāthi, Sindhi, Lahndā, Kashmiri, Western Hindi and Panjābi, Rajasthāni and Gujarāti, Himalayan and Gipsy languages, etc.

*Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Panjāb and United Provinces, for the Year ending March 31, 1904*. Part I. treats of the list of inscriptions, photographs, and drawings made and copied in 1903-1904, and contains a list of the ancient monuments in Kashmir and in Chambā State. Part II. is about the inscribed Gandhāra sculptures, the Prasasti of Sarāhan, inscribed Jaina images from Tonk, and tile mosaics on the Lahore Palace, etc.

*Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Bengal Circle, for the Year ending with April, 1904* (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1904; not for sale). Mr. Bloch, the Archaeological Surveyor of the Bengal Circle, gives here the results of last year's work, and the programme to be followed for 1904-1905.

*Report on Archaeological Work in Burma for the Year 1903-1904* (Rangoon: Office of the Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, 1904). This gives the result of the work done in the above year, and

a list of buildings of archæological, historical, and architectural interest proposed by the archæologist to be maintained by Government.

*Le Palais d'Angkor Vat*, ancienne résidence des rois Khmers, par le Général De Beylie (Hanoi: F.-H. Schneider, Imprimeur-Éditeur, 1903). This is a pamphlet of nearly forty pages, giving a detailed inscription of the celebrated Palace. It has several plans and illustrations, and will be found very interesting, especially if read in conjunction with Lieutenant-Colonel Gerini's "Trip to the Ruins of Kamboja," Part II. of which will appear in our April issue.

*The Imperial Guide to India, including Kashmir, Burma, and Ceylon*, with illustrations, maps, and plans (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, W., 1904). A very handy guide, well got up, and one which we can recommend to our readers.

We have received the following published by G. A. Natesan and Co., Esplanade, Madras: *Shakespeare's Chart of Life: being Studies of King Lear, Macbeth, Hamlet, and Othello*, by William Miller, LL.D., D.D., C.I.E.; —*Malabar and its Folk: a Systematic Description of the Social Customs and Institutions of Malabar*, by T. K. Gopal Panikkar, B.A. (of the Madras Registration Department); —*The Son-in-Law Abroad, and other Indian Folk-Tales of Fun, Folly, Cleverness, and Humour*, by P. Ramachandra Row, B.L. (retired), Statutory Civilian; author of "Tales of Mariada Raman"; —Three reprints from the *Indian Review: Maitreyi*, a Vedic story in six chapters, by Pandit Sitanath Tattvabhushan; *Spencer's Economics*, an exposition, by Dr. Guglielmo Salvadori, with portrait of Herbert Spencer; *Rudyard Kipling*, a criticism, by John M. Robertson, author of "Patriotism and Empire," with portraits of Kipling and Robertson.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: George Newnes, Limited: *The Captain, The Strand Magazine, The Sunday Strand, The Wide World Magazine*; —*Technics*, a magazine for technical students; —*A Technological and Scientific Dictionary*, edited by G. F. Goodchild, B.A., and C. F. Tweney; *C. B. Fry's Magazine*, and *The Survey Gazetteer of the British Isles*, with maps and plans, edited by J. G. Bartholomew, F.R.G.S.; —*Biblia*, a monthly journal of Oriental Research in Archæology, Ethnology, Literature, Religion, History, Epigraphy, Geography, Languages, etc. (Biblia Publishing Company, Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.); —*The Indian Magazine and Review* (London: A. Constable and Co.); —*The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras); —*The Madras Review*; —*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.); —*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder); —*The Contemporary Review*; —*The North American Review*; —*Public Opinion*, the American weekly (New York); —*The Monist* (The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, U.S.A., and Kegan Paul and Co., London); —*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.); —*The Canadian Gazette* (London); —*The Harvest Field*

(Foreign Missions Club, London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The Light of Truth, or Siddhanta Deepika* (Black Town, Madras);—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, continuing "Hebraica" (University of Chicago Press);—*Canadian Journal of Fabrics* (Toronto and Montreal);—*The Canadian Engineer* (Toronto: Biggar, Samuel and Co.);—*The Cornhill Magazine*;—*The Zoophilist and Animals' Defender*;—*Sphinx*. Revue critique embrassant le domaine entier de l'Égyptologie, publiée par Karl Piehl (Upsala: Akademiska Bokhandeln, C. J. Lundström; London: Williams and Norgate, 14, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden);—*Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales*. Revue de politique extérieure, paraissant le 1<sup>er</sup> et le 15 de chaque mois (Paris: Rue Bonaparte 19);—*The Rapid Review* (C. Arthur Pearson, Henrietta Street, W.C.);—*The Theosophical Review* (The Theosophical Publishing Society, 161, New Bond Street, London, W.);—*The Board of Trade Journal* (with which is incorporated the *Imperial Institute Journal*), edited by the Commercial Department of the Board of Trade (Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, E.C.; Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh; Edward Ponsonby, Dublin);—*The British Empire Review*, the organ of the British Empire League, a non-partisan monthly magazine for readers interested in Imperial and Colonial affairs and literature (The British Empire League, 112, Cannon Street, London, E.C.);—*Climate*, a quarterly journal of Health and Travel, edited by C. F. Hartford, M.A., M.D. (Travellers' Health Bureau, Leyton, E., and Castle, Lamb and Storr, 33, Salisbury Square, Fleet Street, E.C.);—*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*. Revue philologique, paraissant tous les trois mois, vol. iv., No. 3 (Hanoi: F.-H. Schneider, Imprimeur-Éditeur, 1904);—*Al-Machrig*. Revue Catholique Orientale Bimensuelle: Sciences, lettres, arts. Edited by L. Cheikho, S.J., Vice-Chancellor of the Faculté Orientale (Beyrouth: Imprimerie Catholique, 1904);—*The Moslem Reform*, vol. i., No. 2 (Calcutta: printed and published by Abul-Fazl, Acme Print and Process Works, 115, Amherst Street).

We regret that want of space obliges us to hold over the notices of the following works: *On the Outskirts of Empire in Asia*, by the Earl of Ronaldshay, F.R.G.S., author of "Sport and Politics under an Eastern Sky" (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1904);—*Indian Art at Delhi*, 1903, being the Official Catalogue of the Delhi Exhibition, 1902-1903, by Sir George Watt, C.I.E., M.B., C.M., etc., Director; the illustrative part by Percy Brown, A.R.C.A., Assistant Director (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1904);—*Traité sur les Éléphants, leurs soins habituels, et leur traitement dans les maladies*, by Veterinary-Captain G.-H. Evans and Jules Claine (Paris: Librairie C. Reinwald: Schleicher Frères et Cie, Éditeurs, 15, Rue des Saints-Pères, 1904);—*India*, by Colonel Sir Thomas Hungerford Holdich, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B., R.E., late Deputy Superintendent, Survey of India; with maps and diagrams (London: Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press Warehouse, Amen



Corner, E.C.);—*A Short History of Ancient Egypt*, by Percy E. Newberry, author of "Beni Hasan," etc., and John Garstang, Reader in Egyptian Archæology, University of Liverpool (London: Archibald Constable and Co., Limited, 1904);—*For Christ in Fuh-Kien*, being a new edition (the fourth) of "The Story of the Fuh-Kien Mission of the Church Missionary Society" (London: Church Missionary Society, Salisbury Square, E.C., 1904);—*Europe and the Far East*, by Sir Robert K. Douglas, Keeper of Oriental Printed Books and MSS. at the British Museum, etc. (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1904);—*Indian Life in Town and Country*, by Herbert Compton, with seventeen illustrations (London: George Newnes, Limited, Southampton Street, Strand, W.C.);—*The Ring from Jaipur*, by Frances M. Peard, author of "The Rose Garden," etc.; also *The New Era in South Africa, with an Examination of the Chinese Labour Question*, by Violet R. Markham, author of "South Africa, Past and Present" (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 15, Waterloo Place, 1904);—*The Śrauta-Sūtra of Drāhyāyana, with the Commentary of Dhanvini*, edited by J. N. Reuter, PH.D., LL.D., Lecturer of Sanscrit in the University of Helsingfors, Part I. (London: Luzac and Co., 1904);—*A History of Ottoman Poetry*, by the late E. J. W. Gibb, M.R.A.S., vol. iii., edited by Edward G. Browne, M.A., M.B., etc. (London: Luzac and Co., 1904);—*Studies in Eastern History: Records of the Reign of Tukulti-Ninib I., King of Assyria, about B.C. 1275*, edited and translated from a memorial tablet in the British Museum by L. W. King, M.A., F.S.A. (London: Luzac and Co., 1904);—*Distracted Love*, translated from Chander Sekhar Mukerji's prose work (London: Luzac and Co.);—*The Religion of the Koran*, by Arthur N. Wollaston, C.I.E., translator of the "Anvar-i-Suhaili"; author of "An English-Persian Dictionary," etc. (London: The Orient Press, 26, Paternoster Square, E.C., 1904);—*An English-Persian Dictionary*, compiled from original sources by Arthur N. Wollaston, C.I.E., His Majesty's Indian (Home) Service (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, W., 1904);—*The Sikhs*, by General Sir John J. H. Gordon, K.C.B., with illustrations by the author (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1904);—*The Story of my Struggles*: the memoirs of Arminius Vambéry, Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Budapest, two volumes (London: T. Fisher Unwin, Paternoster Square, 1904);—*The Year-Book of New South Wales*, compiled by the editor of the Year-Book of Australia for circulation by the Agent-General in London (Westminster Chambers, 9, Victoria Street, S.W., 1905);—*The Guide for the Perplexed*, by Moses Maimonides, translated from the original Arabic text by M. Friedländer, PH.D., second edition, revised throughout (London: George Routledge and Sons, Limited; New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1904).

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : GENERAL.—Lord Curzon of Kedleston's return to India was postponed on account of the serious illness of Lady Curzon. His Excellency eventually left England on November 24, and arrived at Bombay on December 9, where he was met by a large number of native rulers, amongst whom were the Maharajas of Gwalior, Kolhapur, Bikanir, and Dholpur, the Rao of Cutch, and the Bigam of Bhopal. In his reply to an address of welcome, he said that he had returned to carry some stages further towards completion of certain things which he believed would contribute to the strength of the Empire and the welfare of the country.

Lord Ampthill, whilst acting as Viceroy, paid a visit in November to Kashmir, and was loyally received by His Highness the Maharaja.

A scheme is being considered by the Government in connection with the development of irrigation in the Panjāb ; £5,000,000 is the proposed cost of the projects.

The Bombay Presidency Muhammadan Educational Conference opened at Ahmadābād on October 15, and lasted till October 18. Two hundred delegates from all parts of the Presidency attended, together with a good representation of Persian and Arabic scholars from different parts of India. The Nawāb Vikār-ul-Mulk presided. Nawābzādah Nasrullah Khan submitted the report of work done for the amelioration of the condition of the Muhammadan poor, and the Nawāb proposed to start himself a free library in the city, and to pay the initial expenses and Rs. 100 annually for its maintenance. The result was the collection of over Rs. 10,000 for the establishment of a free library in the name of Bari Begam, an orphanage, and other funds.

The Secretary of State has approved a scheme of Lord Kitchener's for the reorganization of the Indian Army, the underlying principle of which is that the army in India should in peace be organized and trained in units of command similar to those in which it would take the field on mobilization.

Mr. John George Woodroffe, Barrister-at-Law, has been appointed a Judge of the High Court of Calcutta, in place of Mr. Justice Amir Ali, C.I.E., who has retired.

Sir Richard Law, Financial Member of Council, has tendered his resignation, on account of ill-health.

INDIA : FRONTIER.—The British expedition left Lhasa on its return to India, via Gyantse, on September 23. The homeward march was full of hardships on account of the intensity of the cold, but there was little loss of life. The escort had altogether sixteen engagements in which they suffered loss, the total casualties amounting to 202, including twenty-three British officers, of whom five were killed.

The Chitral reliefs were effected without any incident occurring.

INDIA : NATIVE STATES.—The Representative Assembly of MYSORE

opened its session on October 21. The Prime Minister, Sir P. N. Krishnamurti, in a long speech, described the condition of the State and the policy of His Highness the Maharaja regarding the development of the country's resources.

The Maharaja of TRAVANCORE has instituted a Consultative Assembly, comprising some eighty delegates from all parts of the State, and representatives of various public bodies. The Divan at the inaugural meeting on October 22 gave an account of the administration, finance, and legislation of the preceding twelve months.

In honour of the appointment of Khan Bahadur Kersaspji Rustamji Dadashanji to the divanship of BARODA, the civil and military officers in His Highness the Gaekwar's service gave an entertainment. Their Highnesses Prince Fatehsingrao and Prince Shivajirao, Colonel Meade, the cantonment officers, civil and military officers of the State, and the leading citizens, were present.

His Highness the Gaekwar paid a visit in November to Calcutta, and was entertained at a banquet by the Maharaja Sir Jotendro Mohun Tagore, and also at the Town Hall by the native community.

A son and heir has been born to the Nawāb of BAHAWALPUR.

The Nawāb of Rampur paid a visit in October last to Bombay for the benefit of his health. Whilst there His Highness made a generous gift of Rs. 5,000 to the Anjuman-ul-Islām.

BURMA.—Great floods have occurred in different parts of Upper Burma, and in Shwebo they have been unprecedented.

CEYLON.—The Governor, Sir Henry Blake, opened the Legislative Council on November 16. In his speech he announced that the finances of the colony were sound, the revenue and surplus of the last year being the largest recorded, and trade, both export and import, was increasing. The revenue for 1905 was estimated at Rs. 2,96,98,080, against the 1904 estimate of Rs. 2,95,35,900.

An observatory is to be erected in the island at a cost of Rs. 20,000.

BALUCHISTAN.—Before his retirement as Agent to the Governor-General, Colonel Yate held a darbar at Quetta, and addressed the Sardars, Maliks, and Mūtabars in a long speech, during which he gave them much good advice, especially regarding the Jirgas. The Colonel vacated his post on October 31, Major Ramsay acting as Agent, and Mr. Archer as Judicial Commissioner.

The Nushki railway is now open for traffic.

AFGHANISTAN.—The Amir was desirous of receiving at Kabul an official of the Government of India, in order to discuss questions concerning his relations with the Government. Mr. Louis Dane, head of the mission, Muhammad Akbar Khan, of the Imperial Cadet Corps, Major Cleveland, I.M.S., Miss Brown, a lady doctor from Agra, and her sister, Dr. Ghulam Nabbi, assistant surgeon, and Mr. Finlayson, engineer, and others, were received at Landi Khanah by the Amir's official, and travelled by easy stages to Kabul, where they arrived on December 14.

Mr. Fleischer, superintendent of the Amir's arms factory, whilst being escorted to India on leave of absence, has been murdered by the chief of

the escort. On hearing the news, the Amir ordered the culprit to be beheaded. Mr. Fleischer was the only European resident in Afghanistan.

Sirdar Nasrullah Khan, the Amir's brother, is to make a tour of inspection of the frontier posts in the Provinces of Candahār, Herāt, Turkeṣtān, and Badakhshān.

PERSIA AND THE PERSIAN GULF.—A commercial mission nominated by the Indian Chambers of Commerce left Bombay on October 13 for Bandar Abbas on a six months' tour through Eastern and South-Eastern Persia. Their itinerary was to proceed to Saidābād in Sistān, thence to Rafsanjān and Kermān, visiting afterwards Bām and Garmāshir, Bampur River Valley, and, should time permit, to Magas, Kubak, the Kej Valley, and Gwādar. The mission is escorted by Indian cavalry, and the Persian Government also deputed an officer and soldiers to escort the party.

During November Major J. Douglas, Military Attaché to the British Legation, and Lieutenant Lorimer, British Vice-Consul at Ahwāz, while travelling in the Bakhtiari country, were attacked by brigands. Both officers were wounded, and lost all their luggage.

The British Consul at Urumiah, whilst out riding, escorted by four servants, was attacked and pursued by ten men. The Consul, however, was not hurt.

The following appointments have been made: Captain Hugh A. K. Gough to be Consul for the Provinces of Kermānshāh, Malāyar, Hamadān, and Kurdistān, to reside at Kermanshah. Lieutenant-Colonel Charles F. Minchin, D.S.O., Consul-General for Khurasān, to reside at Mashad. Captain Archibald D. Macpherson, Consul, and Lieutenant J. H. Keyes, Vice-Consul, for the districts of Sistān and Kain. Mr. Grosvenor C. H. de J. du Vallon, Vice-Consul at Teheran, and Lieutenant William H. J. Shakespear, Consul for Bandar Abbas, with jurisdiction in the Shāmīlāt, Lingah and the Shibkoh ports, Minah, and the coasts of Persia eastwards as far as Gwetter, and in all the islands belonging to Persia in the eastern part of the Persian Gulf.

H.I.M. the Shah has officially announced his visit about next July to Belgium. H.I.M. will also pay an official visit to the British Court and to President Loubet.

TURKEY IN ASIA.—The Sultan has asked the British Government to reopen negotiations regarding the demarcations of the Aden *Hinterland* frontier.

Collisions between Bedouin bands and Turkish troops have occurred lately in the Hedjāz.

The Hedjāz Railway was opened for traffic as far as Maan last August. The starting-point is Damascus. Work has also been commenced from Medinah towards Maan (860 kilometres). Maan is 440 kilometres south of Damascus.

RUSSIA IN ASIA.—The Circum-Baikal Railway was opened at the end of last September. It is 152 miles in length. The cost has been 53,628,000 roubles.

CHINA.—Chinese troops have defeated a large body of rebels at Lo-

cheng-hsien, after three days' fighting. The Boxer movement seems to be spreading in the northern provinces.

The Government has undertaken, in return for certain concessions, to pay the international indemnity of 1901 on a gold basis.

A treaty has been signed with Portugal.

JAPAN.—The Japanese Premier has said that the country is prepared to sacrifice the last man and the last yen in the war.

At the opening of the Diet on November 30 the Mikado said that his forces had been victorious in every battle, and he expected, by the loyal devotion of his subjects, to attain the ultimate object of the war. In the Lower House on December 3 Baron Sue stated that the War Budget totalled £78,000,000. The War and Ordinary Budgets together amounted to 1,000,000,000 yen, or £100,000,000.

MANCHURIA: THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR.—Admiral Alexieff was relieved of his duties as Commander-in-Chief by General Kuropatkin, and returned to Russia.

A great battle, lasting four days, took place on the Sha-ho, the three Japanese armies occupying a front extending twenty miles north of Liau-Yang. The Russian forces, amounting to about 200,000 infantry, 20,000 cavalry, and 950 guns, attacked Marshal Oyama's army, but was repulsed with heavy loss and compelled to retire. The Japanese captured forty-five guns and other trophies, and took 709 prisoners. Their loss was 15,870 killed, wounded, and missing. The cold is now extreme in this part of the country, and fighting is very desultory.

The Japanese at Port Arthur, after repeated attempts to take 203 Metre Hill, during which they suffered great loss of life, eventually took the hill which commanded the New Town and the Russian fleet; and opened fire on the latter, practically annihilating it. One vessel, the *Sevastopol*, escaped into the outer harbour, but was eventually torpedoed by Japanese torpedo-boats.

SIAM.—Mr. Ralph Paget has been appointed British Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Bangkok.

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.—The revenue for 1903 amounted to \$7,958,496, being an increase of \$203,703 as compared with 1902, and \$916,813 as compared with 1901. The expenditure was \$8,185,952, as compared with \$7,600,734 in 1902, and \$7,315,001 in 1901.

EGYPT.—The Budget for 1905 was presented to the Council of Ministers on November 26. The revenue is estimated at £E12,255,000. The ordinary expenditure is placed at £E11,308,000, and special expenditure at £E447,000, the total expenditure thus amounting to £E11,755,000, and leaving a surplus of £E590,000. The revenue is exclusive of the payment of £E216,000 from the General Reserve Fund for the reduction of taxation. The property sale duties are lowered 2 per cent., involving a decrease of £E250,000, while there is an estimated decrease under the head of Boat Tax amounting to £E16,000. The receipts include the sum of £E135,000 from the sale of Government lands. The expenditure no longer includes the sum of £E265,000, representing the economy resulting from the conversion of the Privileged Debt, which has hitherto been paid

into the Special Conversion Economy Fund. The actual increase in the expenditure amounts to £E604,000, of which the greater portion is for public works, railways, and education. A sum of £E447,000 is assigned for special expenditure, which has hitherto been met from the Reserve Fund.

**SUDAN.**—The Government is prepared to consider applications for concessions to develop lands, principally in the Khartum and Berber Provinces.

In October last Major O'Connell, with 15 officers, 369 camelry and infantry and 3 guns, left El Obeid for El Rahad to punish Abu Zeida of Kitra for expelling a chief whom the Governor of Kordofan had appointed and usurping his authority. As Abu Zeida refused to surrender, and having been joined by two other chiefs, the force assaulted and took all their villages. Abu Zeida fled to the hills, but eventually surrendered.

**RHODESIA.**—A discovery of alluvial gold has been made at Fern Spruit, thirteen miles south of Victoria.

Rapid progress is being made with the Cape to Cairo Railway to the north of Victoria Falls, and the railhead will be at Kalomo, 100 miles north of the Zambesi, the administrative centre of North-West Rhodesia (Barotseland), early this year. The Administrator of Barotseland, Mr. Coryndon, has stated that the agricultural prospects of the country are good. The census showed that there were 450 whites.

**TRANSVAAL.**—The whites on the Rand have greatly increased. It is expected there will be 50,000 Chinamen there by next June, but the mines will employ all the native labour they can get.

The imports for eight months of last year amounted in value to £8,985,784, compared with £14,280,908 in the corresponding period of the previous year. The Customs returns for the same period amounted to £1,131,765, against £1,481,332 of the previous year. The exports for the nine months ended September 30 amounted to £12,933,229, as compared with £9,184,241 for the corresponding period of the previous year.

A Boer Congress was held early in December at Brandfort, when vigorous resolutions concerning compensation, repatriation, the Dutch language, education, the constabulary, relief camps, and responsible government were passed.

The body of the late Mr. Kruger arrived at Cape Town on November 29, and was taken to Pretoria, where it was interred.

**NATAL.**—Mr. Crawford has been appointed President of the Legislative Council in succession to Sir William Arbuckle. Earl Roberts has visited the battlefields of Natal, including Spion Kop and Ladysmith, and afterwards made a tour in the Transvaal.

The Ministry has been reconstructed as follows: Mr. L'Estrange, Colonial Secretary; Mr. Maydon, Minister of Railways and Harbours; and Mr. Leuchars, Minister of Public Works and Secretary for Native Affairs.

**ORANGE RIVER COLONY.**—The revenue for the year ended June 30 last amounted to £1,139,576, and the expenditure to £929,681.

**CAPE COLONY.**—Major-General E. S. Brook, commanding the troops in

the colony, and Administrator in the absence of Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson, opened on November 26 the Cape Town Exhibition.

Lord Roberts has made a tour of all the South African colonies.

The revised census returns show the white population of British South Africa to be 1,135,016, and the coloured 5,198,175.

The imports for the nine months ended September 30 last amounted to £16,956,143. Exports, including Transvaal gold, were £20,030,310.

**NIGERIA.**—The ordinary expenditure of North Nigeria in 1903-1904 is estimated at £382,889.

A punitive expedition under the Governor of the GAMBIA proceeded to Fogni, and successfully completed its task.

**AUSTRALASIA : THE COMMONWEALTH.**—The following is the Federal Budget statement: Revenue for the past year, 1903-1904, amounted to £11,631,056; this included Customs £9,105,758, and Post-Office receipts £2,510,264. Expenditure amounted to £4,252,562. The surplus returned to the States amounted to £7,382,460, being £745,333 in excess of the statutory amount. The estimate for the current year's expenditure is £4,433,233. The imports in 1903 amounted in value to £36,244,453. The exports to £45,578,935. A Commonwealth Defence Scheme has been passed by the House of Representatives.

**NEW SOUTH WALES.**—The revenue for 1903-1904 amounted to £11,453,744, and the expenditure to £11,535,947. The revenue for 1904-1905 is estimated at £11,567,533, and the expenditure at £11,483,900.

There are 1,985,203 acres under wheat this year, and prospects are favourable for an average harvest.

**VICTORIA.**—The revenue for the year 1903-1904 was £7,508,250, including £194,659 brought forward from the previous year, and the expenditure £6,914,993, leaving a surplus of £593,257. The balance returned from the Commonwealth Government was £2,002,804, being £58,203 above the estimate. The revenue for the current year is expected to amount to £7,219,370, and the expenditure to £7,056,423.

**QUEENSLAND.**—Parliament was opened on September 1. The Governor, Sir H. Chermiside, has resigned.

The Budget statement for 1903-1904 showed an improvement on revenue other than that controlled by the Commonwealth. Prospects for the current year are good, and an increase of revenue from railways and income tax is expected.

**WESTERN AUSTRALIA.**—The Budget figures show a surplus of £83,364. The revenue, including the surplus, is estimated at £3,761,103, and the expenditure at £3,813,824. The total indebtedness of the State up to June 30 last was £15,225,536, of which £14,000,000 have been spent on reproductive works.

**SOUTH AUSTRALIA.**—Magnificent rains have fallen, which assure splendid harvest prospects.

**NEW ZEALAND.**—Another Loan Bill for £250,000 has been introduced for the purpose of duplicating suburban railways.

Parliament was prorogued on November 9. A New Zealand Exhibition will be held at Christchurch this year.

The Government has raised the interest paid by the Post-Office Savings Bank by  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

CANADA.—The General Election began on November 3. The new Legislative Assembly of the Province of Quebec is now constituted of sixty-seven Liberals, six Conservatives, and one Independent. The Conservatives practically abstained from the campaign, this producing faction fights among the Liberals. Several Liberals were elected in opposition to the parent Government, Mr. Guerin, Minister without portfolio, and Speaker Rainville being both defeated by Liberal candidates who opposed the Government.

Lord Grey, the new Governor-General of the Dominion, accompanied by Lady Grey and his two daughters, arrived at Ottawa on December 13, and met with a most enthusiastic reception.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The revenue for the third quarter of 1904 amounted to \$580,000. The cod fishery has been below the average, but other fisheries have been good.

The result of the elections show that the Government has maintained its position in the House of Assembly, having secured a majority of thirty votes to six.

*Obituary.*—The deaths have been recorded during the last quarter of the following: Major Robert Bainbridge, late 17th Lancers (Indian campaign, 1858);—Captain John Bellasis Bowring, Political Agent of Wana (Waziristān expedition 1894-95, North-West Frontier campaign 1897-98, Tochi, Kohat-Kurram and Tirah Field Forces);—Captain Randolph Gorst Hopkins (South African campaign);—Captain William Frederick Lee, R.N. (Baltic 1855, China 1859-60 and 1862);—Captain Julius Tennyson (served in Canada and India);—The Right Rev. John Garraway Holmes, Bishop of St. Helena;—Colonel Douglas Minto Allen, late 1st West African Regiment (Lagos);—Major-General John Cowell Bartley, late 5th Fusiliers (Eastern campaign 1854-55);—Lieutenant-General the Hon. John Jocelyn Bourke, C.B. (Eastern campaign and Indian Mutiny);—Mr. William Digby, C.I.E., a writer of many works on Indian subjects;—Mr. John Perch Goodridge, I.C.S.;—Mr. Lafcadio Hearn, a well-known writer on Japanese subjects, and since 1890 settled in Japan;—Lieutenant-General John Mullins (Burmese war 1852-53);—Mr. John Thompson Platts, teacher of Persian in the University of Oxford and a translator of many Persian works;—Major-General Charles Edmund Webber, C.B., R.E. (Mutiny campaign, Zulu war, Egyptian expedition 1882, Sudan expedition 1884-85);—Colonel Joshua Waddington Swifte, Indian Army, retired;—Mr. Shunkra Subbier, ex-Divān of Travancore;—Brigade-Surgeon William Ashton (Mutiny campaign);—Captain T. B. Steer, D.S.O. (South African campaign);—Captain John Lewis Way, R.N. (with Peel's Naval Brigade in the Mutiny);—Major-General William Henry Shadwell Earle, late Bengal Staff Corps (Panjāb campaign 1848-49, Boree Pass 1853, Afridi 1855, and Mutiny campaign);—Brigade-Surgeon Edwin Wilson (Central India Field



Force 1858);—Lieutenant-Colonel James Gordon Lennox Burnett, commanding 1st Battalion Leicester Regiment;—Major A. C. Johnson, 21st Gurkhas;—The Hon. Thomas Conlan, C.I.E.;—Captain Montague Hawtrey, 4th Battalion Royal Munster Fusiliers (Ashanti 1895, South African campaign, lately travelling Commissioner on the Gold Coast);—Commander F. W. Melville, R.N. (Egyptian war 1882, Natal, Naval Brigade, 1899-1900);—Major-General J. T. Ussher, late Staff Officer of Pensions (Southern Mahratta campaign 1844-45, Mutiny 1857-58);—Major H. Guise, late R.A. (Tirah Expeditionary Force 1896-97, South African war 1901);—Lieutenant-Colonel A. D. Thellusson (Crimea and Mutiny campaigns);—Captain Clement Bensley Thornhill, Indian Staff Corps, late R.A.;—Mrs. Isabella L. Bishop, a famous traveller and writer;—Lieutenant Langton, 2nd Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders;—Mr. Mathew Ridley, Superintendent of Government Horticultural Gardens, India;—Mr. Patrick Joseph Corbett, Royal Indian Engineering College, A.M.I.C.E., Under-Secretary to Government, Public Works Department;—Pastor A. Haegert, a well-known Methodist missionary in India;—Moulvi Muhammad Hussein, K.B., of Allahabad;—Colonel George Gregory Simpson, commanding 38th Division Royal Field Artillery (Afghan war 1880, South African campaign);—Rev. Patrick Beaton, Chaplain to the Forces (Maori war);—Colonel Lionel Hook (Afghan campaign 1842, Sutlej campaign 1845-46, China);—Major J. W. M. Cotton (Afghan war 1879-80);—Captain Sir Edward Henry John Meredyth, formerly 87th Regiment (Irish Fusiliers), served in India and China;—Mir Jafar Khan, the old Rajah of Nagar;—Mr. Bhimbbhai Kirparam, Talukdāri Settlement Officer, Gujerāt;—Vice-Admiral Edward Westly Vansittart (reduction of Karachi 1839 and Persian Gulf operations, China 1842, Gulf of Tartary 1854);—Major-General Henry John Thornton, R.A., formerly of the Madras Artillery;—Right Rev. Jabez Cornelius Whitley, first Bishop of Chotā Nagpur;—Sir William Harcourt, M.P.;—Major-General Richard Crundel Brook, late Colonel commanding 40th (South Lancs) Regiment (New Zealand war 1863-64);—Professor Habib Anthony Salmoné, an accomplished philological scholar;—Captain Henry John Brodrick Brownrigg, C.B. (Crimea; Zulu war 1879);—Dr. Emile Schlagenthin, an authority on the Tibetan language and lore;—The Right Hon. Earl of Northbrook, Under-Secretary of State for India 1859-61, Viceroy of India 1872-76, High Commissioner at Cairo 1884;—Navigating Lieutenant Alfred Hackman, R.N. (Congo River 1868, Malay Peninsula 1873, Dahomey blockade 1876-77);—Colonel Eugene Clutterbuck Impey, C.I.E., formerly of the 5th Regiment Bengal Native Infantry, 1851 (Mutiny);—Rev. Dr. Murray Mitchell, a well-known United Free Church Indian missionary;—General Thomas Rochfort Snow, late Bengal Cavalry (Sind campaign 1843, Mutiny);—Lieutenant-General William Puget La Touche, late of the Indian Army (Persian Expeditionary Force 1856 and Mutiny);—The Venerable Thomas Fothergill Lightfoot, B.D., Archdeacon of Cape Colony;—Major Thomas Baker Playdell, joined the Marines 1833 (Syrian campaign 1844, Baltic 1854-55);—Lieutenant-Colonel William Henry Wroote, R.M.L.I. (Baltic 1855-56, China expedition 1858-59);—Field-Marshal Sir Henry

Wylie Norman, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., entered Indian Army 1844 (Sikh wars, frontier expeditions under Sir Charles Napier, Mutiny, retired from Indian Service 1883, afterwards Governor of Jamaica and Queensland);—Captain Charles Hastings Wood, of the Royal Field Artillery (North-West Frontier campaign 1897-98);—Captain and Brevet-Major Guy de Herriez Smith, of 45th Rattray's Sikhs, attached to Egyptian Army (Waziristan Field Force 1894-95, Central Africa 1895, Dongola Expeditionary Force and Sudan campaign 1897-98, North-West Frontier 1897, South African war 1899-1900);—Deputy Inspector-General W. Ross, R.N. (New Zealand war 1846-48, Straits of Magellan 1851, Eastern campaign 1854-55, Mutiny and Burma);—Mr. Edward Harbord Lushington, formerly of the Bengal Civil Service, entered 1841 (Secretary to Government of India, Financial Department);—Lieutenant Alfred Howard Reynolds, 2nd Battalion Royal Welsh Fusiliers (South African war);—Rev. Philip Marks, for thirty-eight years S.P.G. missionary and chaplain in Ceylon;—Major Hamilton James Elverson, Reserve of Officers, late of the Royal West Surrey Regiment (Afghan 1871-80); Mr. Robert Dickson Cruikshank, formerly of the 102nd Royal Madras, now the 1st Battalion Royal Dublin Fusiliers (Mutiny);—The Hon. Andrew John Leach, Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court Straits Settlements 1895;—Mr. William Pearson, head of the Revenue and Refund Audit Department of the Bombay Municipality;—The Crown Princess of Korea;—General Sir Collingwood Dickson, v.c., G.C.B., senior Colonel-Commandant Royal Regiment of Artillery (Crimean campaign);—Lieutenant-Colonel James George Hay Boyd, late 20th Regiment (Crimea 1854-55);—General George Strangways, entered Indian Army 1838 (Panjab campaign 1848-49, Mutiny);—Lord Hobhouse, K.C.S.I., a legal member of Viceroy's Council in India 1872-77;—General Sir Richard Taylor, G.C.B., Colonel Cameron Highlanders (Crimea, Mutiny);—Lieutenant-General John Brenton Cox, of the Indian Army (Afghan war 1879-80);—Major-General Charles Crawford Mason, entered the Honourable East India Company's Service 1842 (Crimea and Mutiny);—Sir Frederick FitzWygram (Crimea);—General Sir R. C. Stewart, K.C.B., late Madras Cavalry (Mutiny, Burma 1886-87);—Bishop Hadfield, the former Primate of New Zealand;—Major John Trenchard Tennant, C.B., formerly of the Indian Army;—General Walter Theodore Chitty, of the Indian Army;—The Hon. Montague Henry Mostyn, formerly in the army, and served in Abyssinia and Egypt;—The Nāwab Muhammad Sharif Khan of Dir, C.I.E., rendered valuable services during the North-West Frontier campaigns of 1894 and 1897;—Mr. Alfred Percy (Sikh war 1848-49, afterwards Inspector of Calcutta Police Force during the Mutiny);—Admiral Sir Erasmus Ommanney, K.C.B. (Navarino, Baltic, 1855);—Captain Claud Alexander, Scots Guards (South African war);—Deputy Inspector-General of Hospitals and Fleets George Andrew Campbell, M.D., R.N. (retired) (Alexandria 1882, Egyptian campaign and Suakin);—Colonel Charles Edward Stewart, C.B., C.M.G., C.I.E., Indian Staff Corps (retired) (Mutiny, Umbeyla campaign, Jowaki Afridi expeditions 1877, Consul in Persia, and lately Consul-General at Odessa);—Mr. Charles J. Fleming, K.C., formerly of the Indian Civil Service; Colonel Edmund

Lomax Fraser, late 60th Rifles (Red River expedition 1879, Egyptian war 1882, Sudan expedition 1884);—Captain Boscawen Trevor Griffith-Boscawen, formerly 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers (Crimean war);—Colonel Arthur Blunt, late Royal Artillery, formerly of the Indian Army (Panjab campaign 1848-49);—Major-General Patrick John Campbell, Colonel Commandant Royal Regiment of Artillery (Kaffir war 1851-53, Crimea 1855);—Major-General William Herbert Cuming, late Madras Staff Corps (Burmese war 1852-53, Crimea and Mutiny).

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THE SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL CONDITION  
OF INDIA.

BY GENERAL J. F. FISCHER, R.E.

MR. FRANK BIRDWOOD, in his paper, "The Empire's Greatest Commercial Asset," in this *Review* for July, 1904,\* compares the total value of the imports and exports from each Colony with the Mother Country separately with those from India, and thus arrives at the conclusion that "among the children of Great Britain, India is the Mother Country's best customer," leaving out of all consideration the condition of the population in these several parts of the Empire, and the skill, dexterity, and judgment with which the industries existing in these countries are administered. This manner of dealing with so all-important a subject is, we consider, very misleading before an English audience, who know little or nothing about India, and, as Macaulay said, care less, and so go away with very wrong impressions. We purpose, therefore, to show by his own figures that this conclusion is very far from being right, and that India, so far from being the Mother Country's best customer, does not do one-tenth of the trade she is quite capable of doing with the world at large, simply because her population has been, and is still, kept by her peculiar caste system in miserable bondage.

\* See pp. 44-72.

The total value of imports and exports for 1903 from all the Colonies is £150,600,000, taken from Mr. Birdwood's paper; the population is supposed to be about 12,000,000 in these parts of the Empire; hence this trade is done at the rate of £12·55 per head of population. For the same year the total value of imports and exports for India is only £71,736,000, less than half the trade with the Colonies; the population is assumed to be 300,000,000; hence the rate per head of population in India is 4s. 9½d. only.

From the above figures it is quite apparent that one-twenty-fifth of the numbers in the Colonies do about fifty-two times as much trade with the Mother Country as India does! This of itself is quite sufficient to show in what a lamentable condition the peoples of India are in, and fully accounts for English capital not finding any scope for profitable employment in this country; for the population here have been for ages kept in such miserable slavery and bondage by the caste system that their labour is not worth 2d. a day, and from want of all skill, dexterity, and judgment, the waste in production is incalculable.

This view of the subject can be further confirmed by comparing the revenue derived from the Post-Office in the United Kingdom with that obtained from the same source in India. At home the people pay about 9s. per head of population towards this revenue; in India the rate is about 2d. per head. From these figures it is quite evident that, for all their social and commercial intercourse with the world, the people of India do not pay one-fiftieth of the sum per head which the people of the United Kingdom are quite willing to pay to maintain their social and commercial intercourse in good working order. If anything had been done to develop the industries of India, and the people could afford to pay 2s. 6d. per head towards the Post-Office, the revenue so obtained willingly from its teeming millions would amount to £37,500,000, a sum which is considerably in excess of the land revenue now raised under all the systems of collecting land revenue which have been devised for India during twenty centuries,

by which the country has been kept in chronic dread of famine, and the people exist in the utmost misery, poverty, and ignorance. So much for the plasticity of its caste system, which Mr. J. D. Rees so much admires. In considering why the industries of India are in this deplorably backward condition, it is absolutely necessary to take into account "the requisites of production," and to see in what condition these are in India. These requisites are labour, capital, and land, and we propose to examine the present condition of these in this country. With their past history the less we have to do the better, and let "the dead bury their dead." Men and systems must always be judged by their fruits. It is impossible to understand what is meant when it is said that the "caste system of India does not form any obstacle to the proper development of the country; caste is sufficiently plastic to allow of its votaries taking up any occupation they desire." As the rigid rules of this caste system forbid men born in one caste to be received into another, to all intents and purposes they might as well have been born animals, and so herd naturally with their kind only—as buffaloes with buffaloes, for instance. As regards labour, there is an abundance of it in this country; about 80 per cent. of the population is employed in agriculture, the chief industry of India, but how inefficient this labour is can be easily ascertained from the fact that the wages of these people average about 1s. a week. Their condition can be best judged of by considering the condition of their women, and about this the following account, which appeared in the *Christian* of July 14, 1904, above the signature of "Ada Lee," is a very fair and truthful description:

"A LIFE OF SADNESS.

"The pent-up sorrow of years was poured out in the story of the woman's life which followed. We give it in her own words *as nearly as follows*:

"I was married by my parents when a very young child. I was taught the routine of household duties, and the cere-

monies of worship of our household gods. But what good did it do to worship them? What Fate has written in my forehead must be. My husband died, leaving me one son and three daughters. Since the time of his death I have eaten but one meal a day, and that meal of rice and vegetables only, and must be cooked by my own hand. Every fifteenth day is widows' fast-day. My one meal is eaten in the morning of the fourteenth. On the fifteenth I must not take even a sup of water. Not having eaten since the morning before, I become so weak and faint that often before the morning of the sixteenth I become unconscious. If my son, who loves me, thinks I am dying, he may not refresh me with a drop of water to save my life. Should he give me such a drink of water, he has to endure one year's penance to atone for sin. Again and again, especially in the hot months, my life has become almost extinct, and I wonder why death has not come and ended my sufferings. We are allowed no flesh of any kind, and you know how fond we Bengalis are of fish. Sometimes a large fish is brought into the house, more than the family can eat, and I just long for one taste of it! I see all the others are enjoying it, and a good share goes to waste, but I dare not put a morsel into my mouth. This may seem a little thing to you, but such a longing comes over me for a taste of fish that I can hardly endure the sight.' 'But why are you bound by such unjust rules?' I ventured to say. 'Ah!' she answered, 'if I care to choose a life of shame I might break them, and such treatment is the cause of so many of our young widows going wrong. But the greatest sorrow of all I have not told you. My youngest daughter, only sixteen, is now a widow in her father-in-law's house, and has to spend all the days of her life in this round of fasting and suffering. She is servant of the household, and can take part in no social feast or marriage ceremonies, nor in any other pleasure which comes now and then to brighten the dark life of the other women. She is a childless widow. Her fate is worse than mine, too!'

"The poor woman's heart seems to be breaking. How

gladly we told her of Jesus, the sympathizing Saviour! And as we left the car, she said: 'You will not forget me?' We answered: 'No; and you will not forget our words—God's message to you?' There will ever remain with us the recollection of the longing look she turned towards us as she said: 'No, I will never forget; and you will always pray for me?' "

When the wives, mothers, and widows of these people are dealt with in such a manner, how is it possible for them to bring up their children in any decent manner, whilst they themselves, by the caste system, are kept in the grossest ignorance and bondage? It is no wonder, then, the girls grow up and are fit only for purposes which we cannot mention, but which are encouraged by the priestcraft and superstition of this poor and most miserable of all countries of the earth.

That the labour of the very lowest caste of these peoples can be most usefully developed can be very easily shown from the records of the "Queen's Own Sappers and Miners" for more than one and a half centuries. There is no more distinguished corps amongst the native armies of India; every Commander-in-Chief has borne willing testimony to their gallantry, loyalty, and usefulness on active service in all parts of the world. Lord Wolseley, who served with them in the Burmah War of 1852, describes these men as "the best of military workmen" in the last work he published, more than fifty years afterwards. Such soldiers as Sir C. Napier, Sir J. Outram, Sir Hope Grant, all with one accord bear the same testimony; these are the men who, under the caste system of India, are looked down upon as those "common people"! Why, a high-caste Cutcherry man is unfit to carry the shoes of such men!

In the workshops established in the Godavery and Kistna districts the same caste of people have been trained to be most useful workmen and mechanics, and other instances could be easily cited to prove there is no want of intelligence amongst the low castes of India; the people to



blame are those Europeans who have given themselves up to the dull, stupid practices of Cutcherry Brahmins, and all their evil ways and cunning, crafty practices.

So far as regards labour in India, we alone are to blame for not having utilized it in any proper manner ; hence the consequence is that capital, the second requisite in production, is in the most deplorable condition. During the half-century that railways have absorbed the whole attention of the Government, the bazaar rates for lending money have been more than doubled ; not a farthing has been added, by these works, to the value of real estate ; no new industries have been established by them ; and it is now admitted their charges for freight, etc., are more than *80 per cent. too high for this country*. Under all these circumstances it is quite impossible for capital to have accumulated, and in the same time the country has been run into debt for the construction of these works, and heavily taxed to meet their deficiencies. Great credit is taken for the railways, because they enable the Government to convey food by them to those parts of the country which are suffering from famine ; but all the cost has to be paid out of the taxes, and from no remunerative earnings by these works by which capital can be accumulated ; hence they have promoted no industries. The third requisite in production is land. The products from this can be developed or enhanced in value by *only two possible methods* : first, it must be supplied with abundant means for maintaining the stock in good working condition, and for fertilizing the soil in the best manner possible ; and, secondly, the land must be provided with the best, the freest, and *cheapest* means of transport to the most extensive markets at all times, so as to secure the best prices, to increase profits as much as possible. In India these all-important matters have never received any attention whatever in any of the numberless systems of collecting land revenue ever devised by its governments during more than twenty centuries.

You may examine all the one thousand and one volumes, reports, etc., now existing in the records of all the Govern-

ment offices, and you will not find a word in them about providing the land with those two requisites, simple as they are. All sorts and kinds of *coercive* measures have been adopted at one time or another, and the people have been worried out of their lives to pay revenue to the Government by one device or another, but they have never had the proper means provided them to enable them to work the land profitably, except, perhaps, in the delta districts of Madras; and the contrast between the condition of the people in these districts and the stagnant condition of the people in other parts of India is most marked, and clearly proves that the general administration of the land in India is most defective, and *the sole* cause of its intense poverty and misery.

Having shown how deficient all the requisites of production are in India, we have to consider the remedies which are likely to produce better results, for it is of no use to enumerate the products which India is capable of yielding before we adopt measures which will enable the people to raise these profitably. Hitherto the object kept in view has been to obtain more and more revenue for the State, whereas we should first attend to the requisites of production, and improve these to the utmost when the revenue will be secure enough. As the first Napoleon said, "no revenue is so secure as that which is based on a flourishing agriculture"; but you must *first* adopt the right means to make the cultivation of the land as profitable as possible to the people, and give them security of tenure, and then only can the revenue be realized in full. And this is just what we have not done in India, as can be most clearly seen by comparing the work done in the United States of America by its Agricultural Department in collecting and distributing freely to all classes the best information relating to the cultivation of the land, and contrasting the records of their year-book with the wretched gibberish and jargon in use in the Revenue Department of India for collecting land revenue, by the several systems in vogue for centuries in that miserable country, by which not an acre of land has

ever been better cultivated or the welfare of the ryots promoted in the slightest degree during all these ages.

In America it is established by all parties. "There is no function within the power of Government higher than that of making possible the creation of prosperous homes." In one of his speeches President Roosevelt said: "Throughout our history the success of the home-maker has been but another name for the up-building of the nation," and the conclusions they have arrived at are that "the investigations which have been carried on demonstrate that, *looking at the matter from all sides*, there is no one question now before the people of the United States of *greater importance* than the conservation of the water-supply and the reclamation of the arid lands of the west and their settlement by men who will actually build homes and create communities."

We have only to contrast all the systems of connecting land revenue in India with the above intelligent policy in America to see how miserably we have fallen short in promoting the welfare of the people.

By the zemindari tenure it is admitted that, in so fertile a basin as the Godavery River, having an average annual rainfall of 50 inches, nothing whatever can be done to benefit the people in general by the employment of any amount of capital, skill, or knowledge in agriculture—that is to say, in an area more than double the size of England and Wales, and having a population supposed to be about 125 to the square mile, no means can be adopted for the proper conservancy of the water-supply for securing the crops from failure from any irregularity in a season's rainfall, or for introducing any improved methods for cultivating the land. How, then, can the people build up homes or establish themselves in thriving industrial communities? Not only are they denied all the requisites absolutely required to make the cultivation of the land at all secure and profitable to themselves and to the Government by this most pernicious system of land tenure, but they are also deprived of all access to the markets of the world by the cheapest means—by the river

navigation having been stopped in order to favour the railways—and it is now admitted that the freight and other charges of these works are more than 80 *per cent. too high for the condition of industry in India*. Of course, the same remarks apply to all parts of the country where this zemindari tenure of land has been established and maintained at *reckless* loss to the whole of the labouring populations existing in them; hence it is that all irrigation works in such localities are dead failures. The blame for this rests entirely on those who have persisted in administering the land revenue by a caste system, and totally neglecting the welfare of the community in general; and this is evident from the last census, the population in these Central Provinces having decreased about  $8\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

In Madras it was intended to introduce the peasant proprietary system of land tenure by what is called the ryotwari system; but this object has been entirely frustrated by the Cutcherry Brahmin system which prevails throughout this Presidency, and the ryot is as hide-bound here as in any other parts of India, and cannot do anything towards improving himself or the land he holds without the interference of some petty-fogging native Revenue official, under pretence of making revenue for the Government, but in reality to secure *bakhshish* for himself and the Cutcherry system under which he holds his appointment. So absurd is the system that a professional engineer officer cannot execute any necessary repairs to a tank even without obtaining the sanction of a Tahsildar, who knows about as much of hydraulic engineering as the fifth wheel of a coach.

We have only to look at the way a great engineering work like the Godavery anikut system has been dealt with by this system of land administration, to see how recklessly careless these people are of all interests but their own pockets.

This district was in so desolate a condition in the forties, the land revenue was decreasing so rapidly, and the popula-

tion deserting the country in such numbers, that, on the recommendation of the late Sir Henry Montgomery, of the Civil Service, who was specially deputed by the Government for the duty of reporting on the state of the district, Sir A. Cotton was called upon to devise measures to prevent the entire ruin of the delta, as he had been so successful in dealing with the Tanjore district.

His proposals for constructing this anikut and establishing a good system of irrigation and navigation in the delta was accepted and sanctioned for execution by the Government of the day in 1847. Early in 1850 the dam and its subsidiary works was completed, and the distribution of the water taken in hand, when the Board of Revenue, Madras, got an order passed that *no water-rate* was to be levied till a Revenue survey and settlement had been made by them; they took fifteen years to do this work, in an area of about 2,000 square miles of open delta land. During all this time not a farthing was allowed to be *credited* to these works, though the irrigation had been extended to nearly 500,000 acres of land, and several lines of navigation had been established throughout the delta; and in this same time the works were being *debited* at compound interest on the capital expenditure from the beginning. By a moderate calculation the loss to the works by this arrangement was 150 lacs of rupees, whilst the outlay on them during this time was probably less than 80 lacs, including all charges for interests, maintenance, etc. Not satisfied with the injury thus wantonly inflicted on the works, the Board of Revenue, Madras, made the settlement as unfavourable as possible against the works, in spite of the opinions of all the district authorities: the water-rate was made Rs. 4 per acre, and it was actually declared the land-rate was Rs. 2 per acre, from land which, *before* the works were constructed, was declared by all authorities to be in such a ruinous and desolate condition that it was not worth cultivating; at the same time all remissions of revenue were made debitable to the water-rate, and, of course, against those very works which all the district authorities admitted

had alone saved the country and its population from utter ruin.

But the mischief done by this Cutcherry Brahmin system of collecting land revenue was not yet completed, for 150,000 acres of land was actually exempted from paying this moderate rate, on the plea it had received water from the river *before* the works were constructed, which was a physical impossibility, for this supply was entirely dependent on the river floods; in some seasons it was superabundant and destroyed all the cultivation, in others it was deficient and the crops withered.

By the anikut works the supply has been thoroughly regulated, and the land gets the water only in such quantities as it requires, and the cultivation is secured from all losses. For effecting this in the best possible manner, these works were thus mulcted of 6 lacs of rupees a year for over thirty-three years by this settlement; the losses to the works amount to about 200 lacs of rupees.

From the above the losses inflicted on these works by the Revenue authorities cannot be estimated at less than 350 lacs of rupees; the capital outlay on them up to date is about Rs. 133,75,000 and the return is said to be 18 per cent. by the peculiar method of keeping accounts which prevails in the Revenue Departments of India, whereas, in fact, the works have really repaid all costs two or three times over, and have secured the prosperity of the whole district on the soundest basis, in spite of all attempts to depreciate their value and importance. One more circumstance connected with these works we must notice, for it shows very clearly how all such hydraulic works are mismanaged in India.

The following is taken from the *Madras Mail* of August 26, 1904: "Some years ago, when the East Coast Railway was opened, the charges on the boats using the Godavery Canal were *enormously* enhanced, with a view to drive the traffic on the railway. But this has apparently failed, for *twice* the number of boats ply now, and *twice* as many licenses are taken out as before the railway was

opened," etc. Though navigation has not been destroyed by this miserable policy, great injury appears to have been done to the irrigation, for by the latest returns the area has decreased from 839,855 in 1901-1902 to 810,630 acres in 1902-1903, a falling off in cultivation of 29,221 acres *in one season*, and a loss in revenue of Rs. 138,190, which means, probably, a loss to the people of about 7 lacs of rupees—a very serious matter, which requires the immediate attention of the Government, for it was pointed out at the time these enhanced rates on the navigation were imposed it would certainly tend to decrease the cultivation of the land by increasing the cost of production; and this result is, apparently, already taking place, and likely to go on, with disastrous effects not only on the Government revenue, but on the means of the population, and then we shall have "the old cuckoo cry" that irrigation works do not pay in India when such a policy as this is adopted towards them. Already it is admitted that the freight and other charges of the railways in India are over 80 *per cent. too high for its present industrial condition*, so here, because the land in the Godavery Delta had been provided with the cheapest means of transport for its products to all the markets of the world, the rates on the canals are enhanced some 400 per cent. to benefit the railways, and the result is the irrigation is falling off nearly 30,000 acres in one year! A more silly, absurd policy one can hardly imagine.

That something must really be done in India to protect the interest of its population and to secure a proper revenue for the Government without its being too heavy a burden on the people can be illustrated by many instances, but perhaps the Bangalore water-supply affords as good an instance as can be given.

For many years this subject had been under consideration, and at last, in 1887, the Madras Government offered a prize of Rs. 2,000 for the best essay on the subject. Several essays were sent in, but the award was made to a Mysore engineer, evidently in collusion with the Durbar and some other high officials. Somehow the Madras

Government got an inkling that all was not right in the matter, and they submitted this essay to a well-known, highly-qualified civil engineer for an opinion, who returned the precious document, writing across it in large letters in red pencil, "D——d rot!" which in deed and truth it was, and not worth the paper it was printed on. In the meantime the Durbar had surreptitiously obtained a copy of the project for supplying the whole station with water in the most abundant manner at the cheapest rates, and at the same time converting some 3,000 acres of good jungle waste lands on a very high level into building land. The late Dewan secured this land for himself, and had the project worked out and the estimate prepared on the very same data as originally proposed by its author; but the trick was found out and exposed, and they destroyed all the papers, and the supreme Government refused to allow any inquiry or investigation to be made into the matter.

The station, however, has been supplied with water by a most expensive project, and is permanently burdened with a tax of 6 per cent. on the outlay, when it could have been most easily supplied from Hebbal for about 1 per cent., and all those jungle waste lands sold for building purposes would have repaid all costs in a few years. At present the water is obtained from a valley which has some sixty or seventy tanks above it, and the lands under these are highly manured, so in floods the water is as filthy and foul as it can possibly be. The Hebbal basin is the cleanest one near this station; there are only one or two small tanks in it, which could have been easily bought out. The run-off into this tank is from the highest and steepest ground round Bangalore, and all records and observations show that it is most abundantly supplied with water; but all has been sacrificed to suit certain private interests.

From all the accounts one sees or hears of, a great change is coming over the spirit in which the public works are to be administered in India in the near future; we hear far less of the "incalculable benefits" of the railway system alone for developing the resources of this country, and



more about these works, which alone can benefit the great industry of India—its agriculture. In all parts of the country great hydraulic projects are being proposed and investigated, and in Madras estimates have been prepared and submitted to the Government, proposing an outlay of nearly 300 lacs of rupees, or £2,000,000 sterling, on projects of this kind in certain districts. It is impossible to give any detailed account of these from the information published in the Government orders, but one thing is perfectly clear: the Madras Government have not got anything like a sufficient number of well-qualified and trained engineers and subordinates to assist them in their earnest desire to establish good hydraulic works all over the territories under their control. This great defect has arisen from the way all the irrigation works were discouraged and mismanaged after Sir A. Cotton left the country; for more than forty years everything possible was done to prevent the extension of hydraulic works, and even such great works as he had projected and established were sadly neglected for many years, and the consequences are now becoming but too apparent, and the Government find there is no one to lead, direct, and control the operations so confidently as experience can alone inspire. It is quite apparent the estimates are not prepared so as to obtain the greatest benefits possible in storing water; for instance, reservoirs are proposed to be constructed, and to be provided with gigantic waste weirs. Now, if these are necessary, it is quite evident the reservoirs are not made large enough to impound as much as possible of the available rainfall; this we consider a very serious defect, and one that cannot be easily remedied hereafter except at great cost and risk. In the tropics it is a very safe rule to make the reservoirs large enough to hold as much as possible of the *maximum* rainfall, to take every precaution that at least 25 per cent. of such storage shall always remain in the reservoirs to tide over a season of drought and preserve the live-stock in good condition; this will

prevent the ryots suffering the frightful losses they now incur, and which the Viceroy himself has publicly noticed. Another matter of the greatest importance requires very serious attention: the people *must be trained* to prevent all waste in their own interests. This subject has had no proper attention paid to it in South India. No sooner does a tank, early in the season, get a good supply of water than the sluices are all opened, and everyone is allowed to scramble for as much water as he can get by any means. Very often the tank runs dry; the rains fail, and the consequences are most disastrous to all concerned, for the people lose all their labour and outlay, and the Government are called upon to grant remissions, whereas by good management and careful supervision much of these losses can be prevented. Another advantage gained by keeping the bed of a tank moist at all times is that when the first rains fall after the hot weather, the water is not lost by absorption and evaporation; the beds of these tanks become so dry and cracked by the heat of the sun in the hot months that we have seen a 4-inch fall of rain falling in four or five hours *entirely* lost in two or three days.

The above remarks apply to ordinary tanks and reservoirs, and not to those which are supplied from great rivers such as the Nile, and which it is hoped will soon be constructed on similar rivers in India. In proposing to afford the land a good and abundant water-supply so as to extend its cultivation as much as possible, the subject of communication *must* be most seriously considered and provided for, so that all products can be conveyed to the best market at all times and in the *cheapest* manner possible. The Government cannot insist too strongly on this most important matter being attended to by all their servants. Railways, canals, main and, above all, cross roads, are imperatively necessary for this purpose, and no one should be permitted to carry out one particular fad at the expense of the whole community—such, for instance, as the railway system in India. These works by themselves cannot by

any possibility suit the want of an agricultural community except in their immediate vicinity; hence we have such complaints of their being no feeders to these works, showing very clearly that, for want of good common cross-roads, not only are the railways unable to do their own work in an efficient manner, but the farmers also have been deprived of those works which are of the greatest possible utility to them in all agricultural operations.

How important this subject is in connection with the cultivation of the land is well illustrated by a recent order of the Madras Government: it appears they have nearly completed a tank at Ponnalur, in the Nellore district, and now find the ryots refuse to take the water for their lands. The site is described as being very *inaccessible* even for the purpose of inspection, and eighteen miles from the nearest railway-station. As the ryots apparently never had any facilities of access to any markets, of course they only cultivated such lands as were required to supply their home wants, and to all intents and purposes are quite ignorant of any improved methods of cultivation, and naturally refuse to pay for water when they do not or cannot see how it will benefit them; but give them good common roads to the adjacent markets, and they will soon find out for themselves how remunerative wet cultivation is. Unfortunately, the railway can be of little use to them, as their charges are too high for ordinary agricultural products, but common roads will supply all their needs if properly bridged. Many years ago we had to attend to the repairs of a very large tank irrigating over 3,000 acres of land; it was quite inaccessible to all wheeled traffic, and their paddy straw was, in consequence, of no value to the cultivators. We had a good fair weather road made for them to two adjacent markets, distant twelve and fifteen miles, on either side, and the people then were able to sell all their paddy straw at 3 annas a bundle, and admitted readily these roads had added 1 lac of rupees to the value of their irrigation, whilst the cost of these roads was only about 6,000 or 7,000 rupees,

proving how correct is the rule amongst all English land surveyors that inferior lands with good means of transport to all markets are of much greater value than more fertile lands which do not possess these means. These remarks are only made in the hope the Government may not be disappointed in undertaking hydraulic works in Madras, for unless the subject of communications in connection with these works is properly attended to, neither the Government nor the people can by any possibility realize the full value of any outlay on mere irrigation; and if Sir A. Cotton's reports are carefully examined, it will be seen what great stress he always laid on this all-important matter. It has been publicly urged that there is no scope for improvements in Madras in the way of irrigation, and that the rivers of South India, not being fed from snow-clad mountains, are of little or no use for that purpose. If hydraulic works are to be established according to the ancient mamool of the country, there is no doubt there is no scope for any improvement now, and never has been in all ages. That there are *abundant means* for all agricultural purposes in the large river system of South India we are able to show in a very convincing manner from an order of the Madras Government lately published on the floods in the Kistna River, in October, 1903. It appears from the collector's report that on the 7th of that month the flood rose to a height of 44·68 feet on the anikut register, which was  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet *higher* than any flood recorded during more than half a century at this station: "This means a flood discharge over the Bezwada anikut of 1,100,000 cubic feet per second, which is about 140 times the maximum discharge of the Thames at Staines, and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times as great as that of the Nile where it enters its delta."

In previous years heavy floods had prevailed, which lasted for several days, but never rose to the height of the flood of this year, which fortunately lasted for only a few days, or the damage would have been almost irreparable. The Kistna River has a catchment area of about

80,000 square miles, and is quite capable of yielding a much larger quantity of water than the Nile in any ordinary seasons ; the Godavery has a catchment area about 50 per cent. larger than the Kistna, and is supplied by a similar rainfall, but the ground is not so steep as in the Kistna basin, and the length of the river is greater, so that its floods are far more moderate, and last for longer periods. The Kaveri has a catchment area about 25 per cent. less than the Kistna, but the rainfall at its sources in the Coorg and Nilgiri Hills is much greater, so there is an abundance of water in these basins.

None of these great rivers have a single reservoir constructed on any of their tributaries or the main stream ; all their enormous flood waters run to waste into the sea, when, if these were only properly conserved, there can be no doubt some 30,000,000 acres of land could be well supplied with water for all irrigation purposes, just as the Nile is *now found* to be quite capable of doing after reservoirs have been constructed in its basin ; for, after *only one year's* experience, so useful are these works found to be, it is proposed to increase their capacity ; and there is neither rhyme nor reason why the same result should not be obtained on these Indian rivers, which are supplied with water in exactly the same way as the Nile is. So there is nothing, so far as natural means are concerned, to prevent a most flourishing agriculture being established in South India ; but everything has been sacrificed to maintain a most absurd system of land tenure for merely caste purposes, and the lives and welfare of millions are deliberately sacrificed to this hideous moloch, to our lasting disgrace as a governing power.

In Egypt, and in the United States of America a very different policy has been adopted by the enlightened rulers of those parts of the world, and they take care to afford the community the necessary means for building up industrial communities on the most extensive scale possible by securing the interests of all concerned in the best manner possible,

and to weld into a thriving community ; whereas in India, in all their systems of collecting land revenue, the interests of a caste only are considered, and we are actually told the Brahmins would not allow a collector to carry out measures for the benefit of the working classes ! Is it any wonder, then, the people are in the most abject condition of ignorance, poverty, and misery, when all their interests are sacrificed to a mere tup-headed Cutcherry Brahmin system, and which has never done a single thing to promote the welfare of the community during some twenty centuries ?

The three districts for which Sir A. Cotton laboured so strenuously during all his service in India are the only ones in South India in which any real progress can be shown, and yield the Government, very willingly, the largest revenues. In all other districts where no such enlightened views have been allowed free scope, the people are just as backward as they well can be under such a caste system ; and all the blood of these unfortunate people will be required at our hands, for we have the means of doing the same as Sir A. Cotton had, but we will not use them in any proper manner, but abide in mean subserviency to the methods of an ignorant caste system.

In the discussion on Mr. Birdwood's paper, Sir Patrick Playfair, C.I.E., is reported to have said : "It will be conceded that the three items that go to make up *cost* are rent, wages, and *transport*." To this dictum we feel obliged to take exception, for, according to Adam Smith, "wages, *profit*, and rent are the three original sources of all revenue, as well as of all exchangeable value. The whole price of any commodity must still finally resolve itself into some one or other or all of these three points, as whatever profit of it remains after paying the rent of the land and the price of the whole labour employed in raising, manufacturing, and *bringing it to market*, must necessarily be *profit* to somebody" (vol. i., p. 54). From the above extract it is quite clear that cost of transport forms a part of the wages, which has to be advanced by the

producer and recovered by him in the market to which his products can be conveyed in the *cheapest* manner possible and at the right time, so that his profits may be as large as possible.

Now, because cost of transport is so onerous beyond all calculation in India, we can easily see why the profits of all its industries are so wretchedly small, and, in years, come down to nearly a vanishing-point. It is admitted the railway charges are over 80 per cent. too high for this country; its main and cross roads can hardly be said to exist at all for purposes of cheap transport. The gradients, generally, are very bad, and the rivers mostly unbridged. The rivers have not been made navigable, and its canal system, except in small areas like the Godavery and Kistna Delta, have never been developed for navigation purposes; hence it is the people have never had afforded them the *cheapest* means of transport, and their industries have always stagnated. The result is exactly what might have been anticipated under such a crude system of land administration. In those parts of India, as in the Godavery and Kistna Deltas, where Sir A. Cotton insisted upon the navigation being made as perfect as possible, the progress of all industrial occupations is most remarkable, in spite of the canals being subjected to most exorbitant taxation in order to favour the railways. This dog-in-the-manger policy is working out its own remedy. The people find the canals, in spite of the taxes, are most useful for many purposes. But they are apparently throwing up the land for irrigation, as in the Godavery this has decreased by nearly 30,000 acres in one year, and the Government hence lost far more revenue thereby than they can have gained by taxing the canals, so the great industry of the district is being injured very seriously. As it is a matter of surprise and discussion at home why English capital does not find its way into India as freely as it does even into the republics of South America, where life is as insecure, almost, as amongst savages, we have endeavoured in the above

remarks to indicate the chief causes why English capitalists will have little or nothing to do with Indian affairs. First, no man of business will care to enter into enterprises when he has no good security that his capital will be under reliable supervision; and by the institutions of India he cannot have this. Everything connected with the agriculture of the country is under some sort or kind of Government control and supervision, according to the ancient customs of the country, and the people employed in collecting such land revenue as they can get by those customs are very jealous of any outside interference, and if anything of the kind is attempted they immediately raise the cry that the Government revenue is in danger if their practices are interfered with in any manner whatever. Hence we have a collector even admitting that he was prevented making changes which he believed would be beneficial to the ryots because the Brahmins would not let him do so! When the people are not allowed to plant a tree or cut a ditch without securing the sanction of such people in some way or another, is it any wonder the great industry of this country—agriculture—is about as far advanced as it was in England in the days of the heptarchy?

Secondly, we have seen in what an unsatisfactory condition all the requisites of production are in India. The labour is not worth *one shilling a week* in wages, as the people are in painful ignorance, without any hope in life, and in constant dread of famine, and hence for ages have been looked down upon by the caste rules of the society here as mere beasts of burden, and the women are in as bad, if not worse, plight. As regards their offspring, it is useless to say anything; unless as great a change in their condition is made as we made in turning such people into good sappers and miners, their labour must remain as inefficient and profitless as it has been during the past twenty centuries or more. Of capital it is needless to say more. With labour inefficient, land tenures very insecure,



no new industries having been established in the past half-century by the railways, and the bazaar rates for lending money having doubled in the same time, no accumulation of capital worth considering can have been made. People who have the chance may have hoarded money by usury, but this process does not and cannot promote industrial enterprises or occupations. As regards the land, until some change is made in the system of collecting land revenue in India, and greater security given to the cultivator that a fair proportion of the fruits of his industry is secured to him as his share *by law*, there is absolutely no probability that any improvement will be or can be made in cultivating the land. For centuries the ryots have been subjected to one or other of these systems, by which no improvement has ever been made. The leading idea in all these systems—call them by any name you please—the only notion the native official has in his head, is to make the cultivator pay up as much as possible by every sort and kind of *coercive* measure for the benefit of the sircar, without affording the land any of those means by which alone it can be profitably cultivated, and a full price obtained for its products in the most extensive markets *at the right time*. Even the Irrigation Commission has been compelled to admit that under the zemindari tenure in the Central Provinces no capital can be expended on any works to develop the resources of such a river basin as the Godavery, containing over 100,000 square miles of very fertile land, and having an average rainfall of about 50 inches in the year. Any number of good reservoirs and tanks could be constructed in this basin, and with so good an average rainfall some 20,000,000 acres of land might be irrigated, and the main stream be made navigable for some 400 miles, so as to connect all this fertile area by the cheapest means of transport with the *only safe and easily accessible port* on the whole Coromandel coasts, and so afford the people the means of access to all the markets of the world in the most advantageous manner. But all has been sacrificed in order to establish a most vicious system

of land tenures. The same kind of thing has been done in Orissa; the works are all right enough, but the people will not take or use the water simply because of the land tenure being zemindari. The landlords will take to themselves all the benefits of improved cultivation. And this kind of thing goes on all over the country under this same land tenure.

In Madras, under the ryotwari system, the ryots have no security that any improved methods of cultivation will benefit them to any great extent; they are hampered with any number of rules and regulations; they are liable to any amount of interference from a host of petty Revenue officials, always clamouring to make some charges under pretence of making revenue for the Government; there is no scope for any enterprise, as no one knows what new rules or regulations may be brought in at any time. We have given a notorious instance of this kind of thing in the case of the Godavery works. As soon as these were fully established, so that the distribution of the water could be taken in hand, the Board of Revenue, Madras, got an order passed that *no water-rate* was to be collected until a Revenue survey and settlement had been made. They dawdled over this work for upwards of fifteen years, charged the works with compound interest on the capital outlay all this time, and then made the water-rate the least possible in this part of India for such an abundant and regular water-supply; also made this rate liable for any remissions the Tahsildars chose to recommend without any reference to the Public Works authorities, and then pretended the works did not pay anything like the promised returns, when every one of the district authorities admitted the works had saved the country from utter ruin, and had established a most flourishing industry throughout the delta. The population had increased enormously, whereas formerly it was fleeing the country, but now are in the most prosperous condition of any peoples in India. Not contented with injuring these works as above detailed, the Board of Revenue actually

exempted 150,000 acres of land from the water-rate on the frivolous pretext that these did at times receive water from the river, though it was a physical impossibility for the supply to be at all regular. By this arrangement the works lost some 6 lacs of rupees a year of revenue for over thirty-three years, a total of nearly 200 lacs, the most gigantic imposture, perhaps, ever perpetrated against the interests of the Government and the welfare of the people, for the sole benefit of this Cutcherry Brahmin system of collecting land revenue. The Governments in India are about to institute hydraulic works at last on a large scale in this country, and the above remarks have been made to warn the authorities that such works must be established and administered on very different principles than those adopted towards the Godavery and Bangalore water-supply works, otherwise the works cannot by any possibility yield those benefits they are capable of affording to the country at large, if they are to be controlled to satisfy the greed and covetousness of *one caste only*, as has been the rule heretofore in India, to the ruin of all public interests and the welfare of the whole population; for the country has had most unnecessary taxation imposed upon it by this care-for-caste-only system, and the works are charged with an amount for interests, etc., in order to depreciate their value as much as possible.

When we consider the advance which Japan has made in one generation only in all industrial occupations, and has raised itself to be one of the first Powers in the world; when we see the progress made in Egypt in less than a quarter of a century; when we hear of the enlightened policy which is adopted by *both* the great parties in the United States of America to develop the resources of its *arid* regions under the most unfavourable circumstances, with a population so sparse as one to the square mile, by storing and utilizing to the utmost its scanty rainfall, in order that thriving industrial communities may be established in such regions, we have every reason to blush with shame

and confusion of face for the little we have done in India for the public welfare of its teeming population. Our means are most abundant, for we have any amount of labour, a very fertile soil, a powerful sun, and the most abundant rainfall in the world, carried off by some of the largest rivers on the earth, which, if properly treated, could be made largely navigable far into the interior of the continent. The geographical position of India is most favourable for carrying on a most extensive commerce with most parts of the world, yet its foreign trade is not worth 5s. per head of population; its Post-Office revenue for all its social and commercial intercourse is scraped together at the rate of about 2d. per head of population; and the country is always exposed to the scourge of famines, etc. It is quite evident, then, that its institutions are rotten and bad to the very core, and require to be entirely remodelled; the experience of twenty centuries has fully demonstrated the utter worthlessness of these caste institutions. So if English capital is ever to be drawn into this country an entirely new policy must be initiated on thoroughly liberal lines, so that all may benefit without reference to creed, caste, or colour, and India will then be indeed the greatest asset in the Empire, for if her industries were only developed to be worth about a quarter per head of the population in the colonies her foreign trade would be larger than that of the United Kingdom; but this can never be brought about whilst its affairs are administered in the weak, feeble-minded, fribbling way of the caste system, by which no progress has ever been made or can be made, for the whole thing is against the righteousness of God and man; for it can be no excuse for any man to say that the Brahmins would not let him do what *he knew was right*, for it is written, "To him that knoweth to do good, and *doeth it not*, to him it is sin."

## THE PLACE OF INDIA UNDER PROTECTION.\*

BY S. S. THORBURN, I.C.S. (RETIRED),

Late Financial Commissioner, Panjab.

SINCE Mr. Chamberlain first proclaimed his daring heresy, impugning the very foundations of our Free Trade creed, the question raised by him has been prominent in the thoughts of Englishmen. The nation is still divided on the subject; for eighteen months most of us have been discussing it, many with minds befogged by interests of pocket or party. Amidst the clash of statements and arguments, a determining factor in the ultimate action of our people—the position of India under Protection—has received little consideration; and yet, unless the opposing interests of British manufacturers—notably those of Lancashire—and of India can be reconciled, tariff reform of the kind advocated by any of the leaders in the movement may prove impracticable. The change, whether restricted to what is called the “power to retaliate,” or extended so as to include preferential tariffs and a small duty on foreign meat and corn imports, equally means some degree of Protection for the trades benefited.

In our own belief we are Free Traders of sixty years' standing; in reality, we are only Free Importers, with large reservations. Had our conversion been thorough, we should have practised all we preached; we should not only have opened the door at home for food-stuffs and raw materials generally, but for all products, and we should have kept it open throughout all our possessions for articles of every description. Instead, in these islands we derive a revenue of 33 millions sterling from import duties—mostly on articles not produced in Great Britain; in our colonies we let our children build up tariff walls

\* Paper read at a meeting of the East India Association on January 30, 1905, a part of which appeared in the February issue of the *Empire Review*. For the report of the discussion on the paper see the Proceedings of the Association elsewhere in this number.

against us ; in South Africa we let the small white population treat their Indian fellow-subjects as outcasts. India gives equal opportunities to the whole world, but no part of Greater Britain reciprocates. Here at home we are more liberal ; we offer citizenship to all Indians, and will, no doubt, continue to do so as long as few avail themselves of our generosity. Were they to come to us in large numbers, it is probable that the threatened interests, whether those of domestics, artisans, or shopkeepers, would soon compel the Government of the day to act in the same way as our countrymen in South Africa are doing. When British public feeling was being worked up against the Boers, that people's harsh laws affecting British Indians were denounced by our statesmen as a wrong to be righted. The purpose served—the Boers crushed—we out-Kruger Kruger ; we connive at the exclusion of Indians from our Transvaal and Orange River territories, except under intolerably servile conditions. That, in spite of our declarations, we should have allowed the handful of white men in those two dependencies—well under half a million, garrison included—to freely confer full citizenship on Europeans of every class—Jews, Germans, Russians—but to slam the door in the faces of our own loyal, patient, law-abiding Indians, must be shaking the waning confidence of their countrymen in our honour and good faith. Discrimination against them is enforced, not because Indians are in any way undesirables, as many of the alien European immigrants are, but because, being more industrious, frugal, and adaptive than the white settlers or sojourners, these latter require protection against the fair competition of the former.

With such precedents we may expect that, in the event of the success of the Protectionist propaganda, the party in power, mindful of the hundred votes of Lancashire and connected interests, will be prepared to treat India in the matter of the new tariffs with as little consideration as has been the case in South Africa, or, indeed, throughout the whole history—previous to 1895, at least—of the

commercial policy of this country towards her empire dependency.

That policy and its effects may be outlined in a few sentences. Until our power was established, India had been self-contained. Though, outside agriculture and dependent occupations—rude handicrafts, most of them—industries were few, still, they gave a living to many millions of the population; and not only were domestic necessities supplied, but in some districts every considerable town and village had its colony of skilled weavers, and their loom fabrics, muslins, chintzes, etc., were world-famous. As soon as we were masters of the richest and most populous regions of the country, we adopted as our settled trade policy towards it a purely selfish course of action. That our manufactures should flourish and India's decay, we took measures to force her peoples to buy our finished products, and supply us in exchange with raw materials only—corn, cotton, oil-seeds, and the like. We first tried Protection; that failing, we closed our ports against the textiles of India, whilst compelling her to admit ours almost duty-free. Not until we had killed the rival industries, and established the supremacy of our own, did we substitute Free Trading for Protection as the chief aim of our commercial system.

Politics and trade being without sentiment, and enlightened views exceptional at the time, few in these islands regarded our treatment of India as unjust. Most home-staying Englishmen knew little about the country; we had conquered it, and had a right to exploit it. Besides, were not the inhabitants heathens—members of inferior races—and, as such, only fitted for labour and obedience? By degrees, as knowledge of India spread amongst the leisured and reading public in England, and as education and independence advanced amongst progressive Indians in the great trading centres of the peninsula, leading minds were roused to the wants of their country and the necessity of self-help. Some men wrote and lectured; a few—more

practical—began to form companies, import machinery, and set up steam-power mills for themselves. Bombay took the lead. Lancashire at once became apprehensive lest, by the extension of the movement, she might lose her best and largest market. The cotton power in Parliament was so great that, from the sixties to the middle of the nineties, it caused successive Ministries to so adjust Indian tariffs as to effectively retard India's development as a manufacturing country. What import duties were permitted were very low, and tolerated solely for revenue purposes. Their pitch was gradually reduced until, by 1879, they had been almost wholly abolished; and that, too, at a time when, from wars, famines, and the falling rupee, India stood face to face with impending insolvency. Struggle as she might for considerate treatment, she was as a child in the grip of a giant; and, but for her recurring deficits, the adversary would have succeeded in strangling her infant industries. So near was Lancashire to complete victory that, in 1879, the House of Commons recorded a resolution in favour of the perpetual abolition of "Indian import duties on cotton goods," on the pretext that such duties were "unjust alike to the Indian consumer and the Indian producer." Shortly afterwards the emptiness of the Indian treasury compelled the party in power to authorize the reimposition by India of low import duties. Such a surrender was intolerable to Lancashire. Her representatives in Parliament sulked; some only vapoured, others fought. In its extremity, the threatened Cabinet decided to buy peace by throwing over India, and forthwith the "mandate" was sent out that cotton goods should be excluded from her schedule of dutiable articles; and this in spite of India's increasing debt, shrinking revenues, and the fact that Manchester piece goods were practically the only imports worth taxing. Such truckling to retain votes—the sacrifice of an empire to the trade interests of an English county—outraged public sentiment throughout India. The agitation grew to formidable dimensions; it united all classes, Indians and



Anglo-Indians alike, in a universal protest—even British officials, in defiance of their obligation of silence, were openly indignant. As persistence would have endangered the security of our dominion, resting, as it must, on belief in our moral rectitude, a sort of patchwork compromise was contrived: the dependency was allowed to levy a duty of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on cotton imports (a rate of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. below that on most imports), and—nominally to preserve identity of treatment, but really to placate Lancashire—a countervailing excise was ordered to be taken on like goods manufactured in India. Though justice and financial exigencies demanded, and still demand, that Manchester cotton should not be exceptionally favoured, and that India being compelled to excise her like products, England, when taxing imports—*e.g.*, corn—should admit those received from India duty-free, Indians of thought and action recognise that, taking into consideration our previous practice of subordinating their country's interests to our own, the existing tariff arrangements are the nearest approach to fair commercial treatment ever yet granted by this country to her Empire dependency.

In spite of her disabilities, India has persisted for upwards of thirty years—thanks chiefly to the enterprise of various Hindu, Parsi, and Anglo-Indian merchants and capitalists—in her endeavour to domesticate mill industries, and the number of her cotton and jute mills has long been fitfully increasing. Up to date, however, the less unsuccessful are rather maintaining a struggle for existence than proving, by the payment of dividends, that the period of depression has passed and one of prosperity at hand.

The creation of large industries in India is, of course, the work not of philanthropists, but of men of business. The fact has, however, long been recognised by all men of light and leading in the country that, unless manufactures can be established and worked at a profit, India will never be relieved from the unfortunate consequences of her uncertain rainfall and dependence on agriculture as the one

source of livelihood for her masses. Aware that the introduction of favourable industrial conditions by means of Protection is, under the Free Trade policy of England, unattainable, economists have long advocated the establishment, under Government auspices, of technical schools and institutes in the different provinces. Some have been inaugurated, but the prospects of a moderate measure of success within a reasonable period of time are not encouraging. Meanwhile, India's millions, living on the land alone, must starve every few years, and be thankful that the rapid extension of irrigation works is affording them some ameliorations. No doubt, in the long, long hereafter, India will at some time succeed in working out her own emancipation from the thralldom in which the manufacturing monopoly enjoyed by this country holds her; but, judged by the progress made in the last forty years, the dawn of that happy day is still far distant. It would come soon were the hands of the Government not tied to the commercial and fiscal systems of this country. Were India governed for her own good alone, the Administration would help manufacturing just as it helps farming interests. Many millions sterling have been profitably invested by the Government on irrigation works, the objects being famine prevention, reduction in expenditure on famine relief, and a handsome return on outlay incurred. These ends would be further served were the Government, having given the people the means of growing the raw material, to help them also to convert some classes of it into the manufactured article. The help wanted might be given by the protection of young industries, by the preferential purchase of the products by the spending departments of the State, and by the liberal bestowal of grants-in-aid and scholarships for technical schools. Such measures would attract capital and industrial skill to India, and stimulate her manufacturing development amazingly. As matters stand, the first is impossible—Free Trade and British interests forbid; the

second is, for like reasons, very difficult; and, as for the third, so far little has been done to promote it.

In spite of obstacles, India has, as already stated, for many years been moving in a small way towards her goal, as will be seen from the figures in the following statement. They are—except for mills—estimates only, but the grand totals are fairly correct:

Class of Industry.	Number of Concerns subject to the Factories Act, 1902.	Daily Number of Employés.
Cotton mills ... ..	220	180,000
Jute mills ... ..	40	120,000
Woollen mills ... ..	5	3,000
Paper mills ... ..	11	4,000
Coal-mines ... ..	135	15,000
Other mines ... ..	90	10,000
Oil fields ... ..	10	10,000
Miscellaneous* ... ..	1,000	208,000
Totals ... ..	1,511	550,000

If we add to the workers those members of their families who, from age, youth, health, and sex conditions and restrictions, are unable to help the bread-winners in their callings, a not unreasonable approximation of the mouths maintained through large industries, which have been originated or greatly improved and expanded in the last forty years, would be two millions. That aggregate, though considerable in itself, is trivial compared with the whole population, or even with the large class of artisans which subserves agriculture, and is in the Punjab loosely congregated under the term *kamins*, or village servants—*e.g.*, carpenters, leather-workers, blacksmiths, potters, and weavers. British and foreign competition does not appreciably affect the simple handicraftsmen of

\* Presses, tea and indigo factories, foundries, tanneries, breweries, distilleries, refineries, etc.

the villages, weavers excepted; but as their subsistence depends on the harvests, and as they are the first to feel want when the crops fail, they, too, would be gainers by the industrial expansion of their country. The backwardness of India, the insignificance of her progress in manufactures will be realized if we compare her economic state to-day, after a century of British rule and guidance, with that of Japan, self-evolved, an Empire which two generations ago was still stagnating in medieval aloofness. Within that short period Japan has waked from the sleep of ages, educated herself, assimilated and applied the most useful of the teachings of Western science, and stands forth to-day as the equal in all respects of the most advanced Powers of Europe. Unlike Japan, India is still almost marking time, some of her people mere children in a sort of perpetual kindergarten, but the bulk as ignorant and simple as Russian moujiks. Official optimists see nothing discouraging in the present economic situation of India; on the contrary, they congratulate themselves that nearly 1 per cent. of the population is maintained through the large industries just referred to, and assert that India has been long making steady progress as a commercial community. They point out that the annual value of her sea-borne trade is now about 167 millions sterling, 75 millions being imports and 92 millions exports, and that, in addition, there is an external land trade valued at  $8\frac{1}{2}$  millions. An exchange with other countries worth 175 millions a year certainly indicates prosperity, but an examination of the items reveals exploitation rather than the accumulation and diffusion of wealth. Eliminating from the account the land trade, which has always more or less existed, and transactions in treasure, the merchandise exported is worth 84 millions and imported 53 millions. Of the former, 40 millions are raw materials used in manufactures—cotton, jute, seeds, hides, etc.—and 24 millions are food-stuffs—rice, tea, wheat, etc. The balance, 20 millions, includes cotton yarn, indigo, and miscellaneous goods. Of the imports, the great

bulk are manufactured articles, cotton goods accounting for two-fifths of the total, Government stores for a tenth, and railway plant, machinery, liquors, prepared provisions, kerosine oil, refined sugar, hardware, etc., for the balance.

It thus appears that India's exports are mostly raw materials, her imports manufactured goods, and that the former exceed the latter by 31 millions sterling. Though some part of this sum returns to India in treasure, the great bulk of it is retained by us to meet charges due on account of India's indebtedness—public and private—to this country. From these facts the conclusion appears irresistible that India's economic condition, judged absolutely, is not satisfactory. Well provided by nature for manufacturing, she has, as yet, hardly any manufactures; she exports raw and imports finished products. In addition, she owes us a vast debt, and partially meets it by sending us and others some 21 millions sterling worth of food-supplies which her perennially underfed people can ill spare.

Though versed in the statistics published in India's "Moral and Material Progress Report," the late Lord Northbrook, in July, 1903, in the House of Lords, spoke approvingly of "the healthy condition of India under Free Trade." His optimism was, perhaps, almost warranted, for all he meant was that, situated as India is, she would meet her obligations better under Free Trade than Protection. We may fairly assume that our tariff reformers had already considered India's place under their proposals; as reasonable men, recommending revolutionary changes in our fiscal system, they could not have overlooked the interests of a population which many times outnumbered that of Great Britain and all her colonies.

Their study of the subject must have made them anxious to avoid it. India damaged their case. Accordingly, when questions were put in Parliament the replies were evasive: as the Indian authorities had made no pronouncement, it was impossible to forecast their views; the matter had so far only come to "official notice" as "a colonial question"

(Lord Lansdowne), and so forth. After that the then Secretary of State for India, Lord George Hamilton, himself a Free Trader, took prompt action. He telegraphically intimated to Simla "his desire to receive any observations and suggestions" on "preferential tariffs that Government (that of India) might wish to make from the point of view of Indian interests."

When the answer came and was published, the reason why tariff reformers had not made the wants of India a plank in their platform was at once revealed. After commenting on the "extremely general and indefinite character" of the reference, the Viceroy in Council bluntly stated: "Our conclusion is that it is unlikely that material advantages could be secured to Indian trade from any scheme of preferential tariffs." Three-fourths of India's imports came from the British empire, whilst most of the balance consisted of articles which that empire did not produce or supply. India's exports to foreign countries exceeded her imports therefrom by 38 millions sterling, and being a debtor country, it followed that she depended on her foreign trade for the discharge of her international obligations, mostly owed to Great Britain. Of India's exports, largely raw materials used in manufactures, foreign countries admitted 22 millions and Great Britain 17 millions' worth free of duty; on the other hand, Great Britain subjected some of India's products—*e.g.*, tea, coffee, tobacco, and unrefined sugar—to very high duties.\* Were the power of protecting her own interests accorded to her, India might derive benefit from the proposed change of system; but "all past experience indicates that in the decision of any fiscal question concerning this country (India) powerful sections of the community at home will continue to demand that their interests, and not those of India alone, shall be allowed consideration." . . . "We cannot imagine that the merchants of Lancashire and Dundee, to mention two

\* These duties are : tea, 110 per cent. ; coffee, 19 per cent. ; tobacco, 300 per cent. ; unrefined sugar, 56 per cent.

interests alone, would be likely to acquiesce in such a course, even though it were accompanied by still higher duties against the foreigner, or that it would be accepted by the Home Government, and we therefore dismiss this alternative as beyond the range of the present discussion."

From these premises the Government of India deduced that they would "be forced to shape our (their) policy, not in accordance with our (India's) own needs, but according to the interests and demands of the other constituents of the Empire," in which case India would be constrained to sacrifice much of her existing Customs receipts, and to make good the loss by enhancing the duties on foreign imports, a course which might lead to reprisals; finally, as Great Britain would still admit raw materials free of duty, India would receive no advantage in the home market for the bulk of her exports. Even in the case of the exceptional product, wheat—only largely exported in favourable years—India's potential gain would be discounted by the steady and annually increasing supplies poured into Great Britain from Canada, Australia, and New Zealand; moreover, the anti-foreign duty on wheat would in any case be very insignificant. Only in tea, coffee, indigo, and tobacco—all small crops, by the way—would Indian producers stand to reap considerable profit.

The case as stated appeared to the authors of the despatch unassailable; but in anticipation of the probable demurrer that their apprehensions of retaliation by foreign nations would prove groundless, because most of the articles imported by such nations from India were only grown there, and necessary to the very existence of the manufactures in which they were used, the Government of India went out of its way to answer the objection. They pointed out that with the exception of jute—so far only successfully cultivated in Bengal—India's present advantage was of cheapness, not of absolute monopoly, and that in any case the history of international tariff disputes all the world over proved that fear of immediate injury to itself does not deter a Govern-

ment from adopting a policy of reprisals. The despatch closed with the emphatic repetition of the conclusion with which it had opened, that unless India were allowed to protect her own industries—"an alternative, not, so far as we can judge, within the sphere of practical politics"—preferential tariffs inside the Empire could not benefit Indian trade.

Though that pronouncement was published a year ago, no authority on tariff reform has yet attempted to refute its facts and arguments. Up to date only one man of note, Sir Charles Elliott, an ex-Indian administrator, and since 1895 a finance economist of prominence in London, has essayed to show that the adoption by this country of any form of Protection need not necessarily prove disadvantageous to Indian or English interests. His thesis, supplemented by a "rough scheme" in support thereof, is briefly as follows: Admittedly India is "intensely Protectionist"; educated opinion there has never accepted the principle of Free Trade, but has always contended that as India's rescue from the consequences of famine depends on the creation of diversity of occupations for her peoples, and as that object cannot be attained unless she impose heavy import duties on cotton and certain other manufactured goods, justice to India demands that she should be given a free hand in the framing of her tariffs. Such a concession—one that would amount to the granting of fiscal autonomy—is inadmissible, for, as India is a dependency, not a colony, her interests come after those of England. This country, moreover, has never accorded reciprocity to India, but has always, whilst taxing some Indian products, enforced her own system upon her, only occasionally tolerating deviations therefrom when India's finances have become disordered. England having hitherto been a free importer—with reservations—India of necessity has been the same. If we now change our system and adopt some form of Protection, we must meet India's prayer for equal treatment in some reasonable way. If we concede



preferential treatment to her in respect of tea, coffee, tobacco, wheat, rice, and indigo in return for similar concessions by her in our favour in respect of cotton goods, metals, salt, machinery, and a few other articles, India should be satisfied. She must recognise that no action which we may take will justify a claim by her, our dependency, to penalize the entry therein of our own manufactures; if we allow her to discriminate, as we shall, against foreign nations, that should suffice.

Having given his "rough sketch" of a workable scheme, Sir Charles Elliott held that he had successfully demonstrated that, "by a manipulation of the tariff in the direction proposed by Mr. Chamberlain, much benefit might accrue to the trade of England in cotton goods, iron and steel, and salt, and to that of Mauritius in sugar. Similarly, India might receive great advantage in respect of its production of tea, coffee, tobacco, wheat, rice, and indigo."

That such "tariff manipulation" would promote British trade is certain; that it would only do so at the expense of India is, unfortunately, equally certain, as is shown generally in the Government of India's despatch on the subject. If we take the six articles named from the proposed tariff treatment of which India is expected to reap "great advantage," and, in addition, consider the case of salt also, we shall see to what extent the anticipation is likely to be fulfilled.

Tea is a large industry; we annually import it from India—in which term Ceylon is not included—to the value of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  millions sterling, and our Exchequer realizes in Customs rather more than that sum. If we reduced the duty by, say, one-half—it is now 110 per cent.—owners of tea gardens would be gainers; but they are few in number, are mostly Anglo-Indians, and the gardens themselves are limited to a few localities. How, then, would India as a whole benefit were the duty lowered? Why, too, should India generally be required to compensate England for partially, or even wholly, removing a tax on an Indian

import—a tax which is only excusable on the plea that India is a mere dependency, and as such must be grateful for any crumbs of fair treatment we may choose to throw to her?

The same line of argument applies to coffee and tobacco, with this addition, that little of either is exported. The value of both sent to us is £700,000, and to other countries £400,000. Further, as regards tobacco, under existing arrangements we tax the Indian higher than the American article, as we subject both to the same specific duty, though the latter, weight for weight, is far more valuable than the former.

In respect of wheat the Government of India's despatch shows that the colonies, not India, would benefit if any country did should we impose a duty of 2s. a quarter against foreign countries. The case of rice is peculiar and obscure. India (Burmah chiefly) exports it to the value of 12 millions sterling, about two-fifths going to foreign countries and three-fifths to Great Britain and our colonies and possessions. The largeness of the trade is due to the cheapness of the Indian product compared with the better and more valuable Carolina and other rices in the market. Were England to give India preferential treatment, which is doubtful, India's export trade might expand; on the other hand, it might shrink, the other rice-growing countries of the world underselling her in foreign importing States. In any case, trading relations would be disturbed. The conditions are further complicated by the fact that India obtains a large revenue from the heavy duties she imposes on Burmah's rice exports.

The last article, indigo, is hardly worth specializing; chemical dyes are killing its production, the factories are mostly owned by Anglo-Indians, and at best the value of exports to all countries is a little over a million sterling.

Now, taking the case of salt, it is sufficient to point out that India can only reduce the duty on the British article *pari passu* with similar action in respect of the excise

levied on the Indian article, and that the taxation of salt being economically indefensible, the Government of India is now seizing opportunity as it occurs to cheapen the cost to the consumer of that necessary of life.

Even if we concede that some minor Indian industries would be profited by the suggested tariff manipulation—apparently the only one possible—and that the Government of India's apprehensions of reprisals would not be realized, the whole Protectionist case seems to rest on the morally untenable assumptions that, as India is a dependency, not a colony, we are justified in continuing the subjection of her interests to our own, and in taking compensation from the whole population for lightening the burdens—the unjust burdens—which have hitherto only affected a few small sections of the people. In this connection it cannot be too strongly impressed upon those who would dictate a tariff to India and be satisfied, that by making concessions to a few producers and traders benefits would be conferred on "India," that their conception of what the term implies is wholly erroneous. "India" means more than a handful of up-country planters, factory owners, and the whole crowd of merchants and brokers of the presidency towns and elsewhere; it means the peoples of India—300 millions of long-suffering workers, whereas the Britons of Great and Greater Britain only number 50 millions.

To give the real "India" that variety of livelihood—without which, in spite of roads, railways, and irrigation canals, scores of millions must suffer at short intervals from the effects of scarcity and famine—she must have flourishing home industries; if so, any tariff revision which would operate to further retard her industrial progress would be a calamity for India. As in the past we have habitually sacrificed her welfare for our own, we should probably not scruple to do so once more, if we dared—the end, the consolidation of the Empire, being held to sanctify the means. But if we dared, should we succeed? That is the question.

Let us suppose a Protectionist Ministry in power, and all fiscal difficulties between ourselves and colonies and the latter *inter se* surmounted, India's place in the happy family would still have to be settled. Two alternatives would be open to us: we should either have to force upon India a tied-house scheme on the lines already sketched, or go a step farther, and by imposing absolute Free Trade between her and ourselves, with liberty to her to discriminate against foreign nations alone, preserve a semblance of identity of treatment between the two countries. Neither arrangement would be just or acceptable to India, the first or half-measure for reasons already given, the second or whole measure because it would, besides injuring India's manufactures and dislocating her external trade, entail serious loss of revenue, not only to her, but to ourselves as well.

It is, I think, unlikely, however, that in any case Great Britain will venture to dictate orders to India. The era of unjust "mandates" probably ended in 1894, when India's successful protest against the compulsory excision of Manchester cotton goods from her tariff compelled this country to substitute the compromise, which has now been working for nine years. Since that settlement was made, India's progress in intelligence, world-knowledge, and powers of agitation—perhaps, too, the advance in right-mindedness in impersonal matters amongst our own people—has been so great that, notwithstanding the Government of India's pessimism, it is unlikely that British sectional interests will ever again have the power to carry out any new injustice upon India.

When recently (October 3) speaking at Edinburgh on the fiscal question, the Prime Minister held that "the only possible way of moving out of the *impasse* in which we now find ourselves—an *impasse* dangerous to the Empire as a whole—is to have a free conference with those (our) self-governing colonies and with India." If it sit and India be properly represented, we shall see clearer than at present

whether a "scientific tariff" can be devised which shall be fair and reasonable for all the constituents—India included—of our Empire. At present, however, so far as the discussion has advanced, the conflicting interests of this country—of Lancashire, at all events—and India appear irreconcilable. Unless an impractical and impartial solution can be contrived, it is not unlikely that India will block the way against any common scheme of tariff revision. Should that blocking take place, the soundness of the advice to be read between the lines of the Government of India's despatch, "Let sleeping dogs lie," will be admitted even by those to whom to-day it is most unpalatable. Like Lord Curzon and his Council, I, too, "cannot imagine" the only possible alternative—the concession by this country to India of the right to protect her own industries against all rivals, ourselves included, even as we should protect ours against nations outside our Union.

## A VINDICATION OF AN INDIAN STATESMAN.

BY "SHAHID-I-'ADĀLAT."

THE writer of the Le Bas Prize Essay (1904)\* devotes rather more than half of it to a rapid and interesting survey of the history of the Golcandah and Hyderabad kingdoms from A.D. 1512 to 1853. It was in this year, 1853, that a new treaty was drawn up between the East India Company and the Nizam. Under one of the terms of this treaty, the Nizam assigned to the British Government the administration, but not the sovereignty, of the Berar Province, the garden of his dominions. The writer justly remarks on the patent inaccuracy in Lord Dalhousie's farewell Minute, in which he stated that "His Highness the Nizam had assigned, in perpetual government, to the Honourable East India Company the Province of Berar." As a matter of fact, the province in question "was never assigned or ceded in perpetuity. That stipulation," as the writer adds, "can nowhere be proved by documentary evidence."

It was at this juncture that Salar Jung, one of the most able and most remarkable of the Indian statesmen that the nineteenth century produced, succeeded his uncle in the office of Dewan, or Chief Minister of the Nizam's State. He was only twenty-four years of age, and with but little practical knowledge of State business. Young and inexperienced as he was, he soon convinced himself that the abuses then rampant in the administration of the public revenues would go far to imperil even the existence of the Nizam's dominions as an Independent State. With the full countenance and support of the British Government, he entered upon and successfully carried out a series of reforms. To this, the early part of Salar Jung's career, the

\* "The Nizam : The Origin and Future of the Hyderabad State." Being the Le Bas Prize Essay in the University of Cambridge, 1904. By R. Paton McAuliffe, B.A. Cambridge University Press. See notice of this essay in our last (January) issue, pp. 190, 191.

author does full justice. He could not well have done otherwise, as there is ample evidence both as to these reforms and as to the loyal attitude of the Nizam and his young Minister, who had only been four years in office when Northern India suddenly blazed into rebellion. Than Hyderabad, with its Arab, Pathan, and Sikh levies, there was in 1857 no more turbulent city in the whole of Hindustan. Anxiously it was asked, and as anxiously it was awaited, what attitude this the largest of the Independent States, with its Muhammadan Government, would take up? Would it remain faithful to its alliance with the British Government, or would it side with the rebels whose agents were swarming into the city of Hyderabad from the north? These were the questions that were considered with no little anxiety by the British Government. The Governor of Bombay, Lord Elphinstone, telegraphed to the Resident at Hyderabad: "If the Nizam goes, all is lost." As to the services personally rendered at the peril of his life by Salar Jung, the author truly says that "Salar Jung decided, and irrevocably, for the British cause, and ratified his decision with military assistance." The local British authorities, who were fully aware what would result from any weakness of Salar Jung, or the slightest swerving on his part from the attitude he had assumed towards the British cause, thus wrote of his loyalty and firmness throughout that most critical time. Colonel Davidson, the Resident at Hyderabad, reported to Government in reference to Salar Jung: "From his open and avowed determination to assist us at all hazards he became most unpopular, and almost outlawed by the Muhammadans; but no invectives, threats, or entreaties ever made him swerve from the truly faithful line of conduct he from the first adopted. His assassination was planned a dozen times." General Hill, who held the chief military command in the Nizam's dominions at the time, wrote that "It is but just to this distinguished man that the people of England should be informed how entirely the stability of British rule in South India was maintained owing to the

wise and energetic measures adopted at this crisis by Salar Jung." Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, was no less emphatic in his praise of the young Minister. He stated his opinion that "we owed the safety of Southern India to Salar Jung."

As regards the memory of a man who had stood so loyally by us in 1857, it is unfortunate, though not to be wondered at, that the author of this essay has based his information as to a certain portion of Salar Jung's career on a work published some years ago by Mr. T. H. Thornton, "sometime Foreign Secretary to the Government of India." "General Sir Richard Meade and the Feudatory States of Central and Southern India" is an interesting memoir of the services of an officer of the Indian Army, who, after a distinguished career as a soldier, was employed as a Political Agent, in which branch of the service his career was equally distinguished. From one agency he was advanced to another, till finally he was made Resident at Hyderabad, the highest and most important charge of all. Then it was that, towards the close of the year 1875, the new Resident, Sir Richard Meade, and Sir Salar Jung first came into contact. His Highness the Nizam (Afzal-ed-Dowlah) had died in 1869, and at the time of his death his son, the present Nizam, was two and a half years old. Early in the year 1876 Salar Jung, in response to an invitation from the Prince of Wales when he visited India in 1875, left Hyderabad for England. It was in the course of his stay in London that he obtained permission from Lord Salisbury, then Secretary of State for India, to reopen the question of the restitution to the Nizam of the Berar Province. Evil days were then to be the lot of Salar Jung, the foremost of Indian statesmen of the day, who from the time he had assumed the office of the Nizam's Prime Minister had attracted the sympathy of every right-thinking man, and whose advanced ideas and intellectual acquirements had made him one with those who value progress and reform. Late in August he returned to Hyderabad, after an absence



of some four months. All India was then shortly to be astir with the preparations for the Durbar at Delhi, to be held early in January, 1877, when the Queen of England was to be proclaimed Empress of India. The Government of India was desirous that the Nizam should be present. Salar Jung knew full well that great risk would be incurred to His Highness's health from the long journey and the excitement of the coming ceremonials. His Highness was delicate and frequently suffering, and only eleven years of age. But assuming all responsibility, and allaying the determined opposition of the nearest of His Highness's female relations, he loyally met the desire of the British Government; and, attended by himself and other nobles, His Highness left for Delhi towards the end of December. Before leaving Hyderabad, agreeably to Lord Salisbury's permission, Salar Jung submitted to the Resident the claim of the Hyderabad Government to the restoration of Berar. In thus submitting this claim the Minister had grievously sinned in the eyes of the Foreign Department of the Government of India.

To return to the Prize Essay. The author says that to "his [Salar Jung's] early foreign policy there is the gravest objection." This is somewhat puzzling. Were Salar Jung now alive, we think he would smile at such a charge. Surrounded by British territory, as the Nizam's dominions are, and bound by a treaty to have no political communications with any of the Independent States of India, or with any Power except the English, it is hard to see how it would have been possible for him to frame a "foreign policy," and he was too able and too cautious to undertake the impossible. Other charges by the essayist follow: "He tacitly aimed at disclaiming any suzerainty of the British Crown." His organization of a small body of troops is termed "a questionable action." His "reluctance" to meet the Prince of Wales at Bombay in 1875 is asserted. His secret manufacture of arms was "detected." His "declaration that in the matter of the vacant co-regency he deter-

mined to have no colleague" is recorded with the rest of the charges as "significant of the position he was adopting." It would be easy to refute each of these charges. But though space is limited, it is only just that an endeavour should be made shortly to point out the utter worthlessness of some of them. As regards the precise significance of the term "suzerainty," Salar Jung was, no doubt, a little bewildered. Men with minds legally trained, such as his had never been, have been equally puzzled. For this we need not go farther back than to the months that preceded the outbreak of our recent War in South Africa. The Nizam's "sovereignty" had been mentioned in a treaty between the British Government and the Nizam. The Minister not unnaturally concluded that the Nizam, his master, was a Sovereign. In admitting the suzerainty of the British Crown, he thought by so doing that he might be guilty of disloyalty to his own Sovereign. On the matter being explained to him, he at once admitted the paramountcy or overlordship of the Empress of India over all the Independent States, including the Nizam's. As to meeting the Prince of Wales at Bombay, there was no reluctance whatever on his part. His reluctance was confined to taking the young Nizam to Bombay. As a writer well versed in all matters regarding the Hyderabad State wrote in *To-day*, a monthly magazine published in London (1884): "There would have been no objection, merely on account of his [the Nizam's] juvenility, to his being present at Bombay. He was only nine years of age. But the boy was weakly. He was the sole hope of the direct succession. The family anxieties in respect of his physical welfare had always been kept at the keenest tension. . . . The Minister and his then worthy colleague, the co-Regent, shared these anxieties, and also felt to the utmost their grave responsibility for the safety of the young Nizam." The medical men in attendance affirmed that if the Nizam went to Bombay it would be at the peril of his life. But the Government of India, notwithstanding, continued their pressure on the Minister. It was said that

if the Nizam (this delicate, suffering child) were not present the Prince of Wales would consider it "an insult"! The fatuous persistence of the Indian Political Department and all the circumstances attendant on it were explained to His Royal Highness. At once he took in the situation, and Salar Jung and other leading nobles, representing the Nizam, met the Prince at Bombay. The Heir-apparent most cordially greeted the justly-renowned and faithful Minister. He did more. He deputed two of the highest nobles of his suite to Hyderabad to return Salar Jung's visit to Bombay, and thus publicly evinced the good feeling he entertained towards the young Nizam's Minister. As the writer of the essay affirms that the secret manufacture by Salar Jung was "detected," we are bound to refer to the Meade memoir, whence Mr. McAuliffe, no doubt, obtained this information. Therein we read of the "discovery of the secret manufacture of arms, or preparation for the manufacture in Hyderabad of large quantities of arms, of preparations for the manufacture of breech-loading guns." For some evidence as to this we search in vain; but instead of evidence, as we might have expected, we read that "the details are of too confidential a character for publication." In the leading organs of the Indian press of the day no alarm was expressed, but rather amusement at the Government's discovery of a mare's-nest. It was well known that, if Salar Jung had ordered half a dozen flints for some old muskets of the time of the Frenchman Raymond, news of his "manufacture of arms" would have been hurried off from the city by Salar Jung's enemies to the Residency. The Hyderabad State arming was generally considered as much of a joke as was Laurence Oliphant's ironical suggestion to Salar Jung, that to get back Berar he would have to declare war with Great Britain.

In justice to Salar Jung's memory, his decision that in the matter of the vacant co-regency it would be to the interest of the State that he should have no colleague, it is desirable to say a few words. Early in 1877 his worthy

colleague, who had been long ailing, died. He was a Muhammadan noble, connected by marriage with the Nizam, and respected by all. From what we learn of Sir Richard Meade in Mr. Thornton's memoir, it is manifest that he was, when not swayed by superior orders, a man of good intentions, just, and with clear-sighted views. He had been long enough at Hyderabad to be aware that amongst the nobles no fit successor to the deceased Nawab could be found. Salar Jung was also of this opinion. Meade was disposed, all things considered, to abstain from filling up the vacant post, or, in other words, to leave the Minister sole Regent during the few years that remained of the Nizam's minority. This plan, however, did not suit the views of the Simla officials. The half-brother of the deceased co-Regent, the Nawab Vikar-ul-oomra, though highest in rank of the Hyderabad nobles, was totally unversed in State business. He had, besides, been in disgrace for some years for an attempt to bribe a former Resident's wife, with the view of turning out the Minister Salar Jung from his post. The bribe was given, and carried off by a woman who had passed herself off to him as the wife of the Resident. For this scandalous intrigue the orders of Government were that he was never to attend a Durbar when British officers were present. He was the Minister's most bitter foe. Here, then, was the man that was wanted. Sir Richard Meade, having received his orders, wrote that (in opposition to his former views) it would be better "to risk present inconvenience and trouble than future complications" if Salar Jung were left sole Regent of the State. It is thus evident that Sir Richard foresaw that inconvenience and trouble would certainly result from the appointment of Vikar-ul-oomra as co-Regent.

But having received his orders from Simla, Sir R. Meade proceeded unflinchingly to carry them out. Pressure of a very determined sort was put upon Salar Jung, who had declined, for the reasons he gave, to accept Vikar-ul-oomra as

his colleague ; but finally he was forced to consent to the wishes of the Simla Government.\*

As to the character of the man who had thus been unfairly forced upon him, the Minister, let Sir George Yule speak—one of the best and most highly respected among the few able men who have filled the post of Resident at the Nizam's Court. Writing in February, 1881, he said : "In spite of Sir Salar Jung's repeated remonstrances, we have forced upon him as his colleague a man who was notoriously his personal enemy, a man who had heavily bribed others in scandalous intrigues against him, and whose servant had openly tried to murder him." Yet if we look at the "sometime Foreign Secretary's" memoir, we are told "the only reason against his [the Vikar-ul-oomra's] appointment was the fact that he was a *persona ingratisissima* to Salar Jung." Surely misrepresentation greater than this it would be hard to conceive! But as the arena artist reserves his biggest jump for the close of his performance on the sawdust, we come upon the following, towards the end of the many charges made against the long-suffering Minister: "Lord Lytton did not hesitate to declare that the Minister's intrigues were the greatest danger to his viceroyalty, and were more grave than were even war or famine." No blame can be attached to the author of the essay for his insertion of this allusion to Salar Jung, as this charge, like the rest of the charges, is culled verbatim from Mr. Thornton's volume. Mr. McAuliffe may well have concluded that more authoritative information in reference to Hyderabad affairs at that time was not to be found than

\* Salar Jung had informed the writer in *To-day* that he "had asked for the Berars." And as he had asked "in a way and with a force of argument that showed he really meant to attain his end if possible:" the writer adds that Salar Jung, in giving him this information, gave him at the same time "an indication of the turn of the tide of disfavour that was to set against him from Simla" . . . where "the Bureaucrats there-upon repented them of the praises they had heretofore bestowed on the Minister who had served the British Power as well as he had served his own Sovereign, but from allegiance to whom he would not swerve." —*To-day*, July, 1883.

what would be given in a work by the "sometime Foreign Secretary" of the day; for he would be the Viceroy's right-hand man in all transactions with the Native States. Unfair as this statement is to the memory of Salar Jung, it is still more unfair to the memory of Lord Lytton that such a remark in a private letter to Sir Richard Meade, written after both had left India for good, should have been unnecessarily made public. Sir R. Meade had been attacked by a Calcutta newspaper that condemned his conduct of affairs at Hyderabad, and his relations with Salar Jung generally. The attack was unwarranted, inasmuch as the Resident had only acted under the orders of Government. Lord Lytton, who knew the valuable services Sir Richard Meade had rendered throughout a long career, wrote expressing his strong disapproval at what he termed "an infamous attack" on Meade's character. Lord Lytton was a poet and gifted with a poet's creative imagination. He wrote in his anger, desiring, with that kindness which was characteristic of him, to console Meade in regard to the attack that had been made upon him in the Calcutta journal. In proof that only his disapproval at the time led him to make this extraordinary statement in reference to Salar Jung, we turn to Lord Lytton's "Indian Administration," a work drawn up by his daughter, Lady Betty Balfour. In the preface of this work we learn that in his will Lord Lytton desired that the work should be "a complete record" of his Indian Administration. We find that Salar Jung's name appears in it only once; Lord Lytton merely noting that at the Delhi Durbar in 1877 he had had "interviews with Salar Jung" and others. Sir Richard Meade's name is not even mentioned throughout the work; and yet, as Resident at Hyderabad, he was at close quarters during the whole of Lord Lytton's Indian Administration with the Minister of the largest of the Independent States—a man whose intrigues "were the greatest danger of his viceroyalty, and were more grave than war or famine"! We may fairly assume

a reason for the omission from the record of Lord Lytton's Indian Administration of any reference to the Hyderabad affairs. Lord Lytton came out from England with instructions from the Disraeli-Salisbury Ministry to reverse the policy of his predecessor, Lord Northbrook, in regard to Afghanistan. He was thus soon entangled in the web of Afghan politics, and at the same time his mind was also largely occupied with the work of famine relief. To so great an extent is an Indian Viceroy's time occupied that he is compelled to leave much to be done by others. His Foreign Secretary, and possibly other officials about Lord Lytton, would so obtain a comparatively free hand to wound Salar Jung's feelings in every way open to them, for his having presumed, when in London, to explain to the Marquis of Salisbury his position, and also the case for rendition of the Berars. An able and trained diplomatist, it is not likely that, in his heart, Lord Lytton approved of the persecution of a man who had proved himself so faithful to his own Sovereign and so loyal to the British Crown. Equally, with his temperament, he would have regarded, perhaps with contempt, the bull-in-the-china-shop attitude assumed by those who had planned and were clumsily carrying out the humiliation of Salar Jung. But once a policy, mischievous though it be, is entered upon by those acting under him and to whom he has trusted, it is hard even for a Viceroy to interfere and stop its course. It is thus not difficult to account for the absence from Lady Betty Balfour's work of all correspondence relating to the conduct of affairs at Hyderabad during Lord Lytton's viceroyalty.

A trait in the character of this persecuted but distinguished Indian statesman is aptly portrayed in the following words by the writer in *To-day*, to whose intimate knowledge of Hyderabad affairs in those days, and consequently of Salar Jung's career from the time he assumed the office of Dewan till his death in 1883, allusion has previously been made :—

“Subjected to the pressure from those who, as he knew, wielded irresistible power, he held his own with unflinching firmness. His prudence

and patience induced him to yield, not to *force majeure*, but to the persuasion of his nearest and wisest friends. Nevertheless, his capacity for enduring—as many of the best in history have done in times past—the vengeance of tyrannous powers was amply demonstrated.” And this writer justly adds that “Sir Salar Jung’s name will evermore be held in honour in the Deccan.”

A man so distinguished and well known as Sir Salar Jung, was not likely to be without friends who sympathized with him in the cruel treatment to which he was being subjected. Who were these friends that the “some-time Foreign Secretary,” from his Olympian altitude of Simla, airily dismisses with the remark that their sympathy for and support of Salar Jung’s “aspirations” were “of little practical value.” He gives their names—the Duke of Sutherland, Lord Napier of Ettrick, Sir George Yule, and Sir Bartle Frere—all men of position and personally acquainted with Salar Jung; and all of whom retained their friendship for him to the last. It does not say much for the perception of these distinguished men, if they sympathized with the “aspirations” of Salar Jung and retained their friendship for him, if these “aspirations” were, as expressed in the memoir of Sir Richard Meade, those of a man disloyal to the British Crown, and whose intrigues were regarded as a menace and danger to our rule in India. Bearing in mind all that is said in Mr. T. Thornton’s memoir of Sir Richard Meade in disparagement of Salar Jung, it is pleasant to read that the Governor-General in Council declared that his “subsequent actions”—we presume subsequent to 1877—were declared to be those of an “enlightened and experienced friend to the British Government.” In 1878 Mr. Thornton was no longer at the helm of the Indian Foreign Department. He had been succeeded by Sir Alfred Lyall, a highly gifted and able official, who was not likely to view with approval the conduct of our relations with the Hyderabad Government during the latter portion of his predecessor’s term of office.

The fourth and last chapter of the essay, dealing with



"the present in anticipation of the future," will be read with interest by all who are concerned with the welfare of the Nizam and his State. Mr. McAuliffe wisely abstains from prophesying: as he himself says, "nothing is easier," if the date of realization is put sufficiently remote. He aptly refers to what the late Lord Salisbury said in 1891, that the hope of the future in India lay in the formation of a double bond between the British Government and the Independent States—viz., that of a Customs Union and Defence Union. He justly remarks that, if the proposed Customs Union is carried out, it may considerably affect Hyderabad, "as commercially more than politically will the State develop." Since the Nizam's famous offer in 1887, when the *Times* declared that by it the Nizam showed that union for defence existed between the British Government and his own, Mr. McAuliffe says, nothing has occurred to lower the estimation then given by the *Times* of His Highness the Nizam. He closes his interesting essay by quoting the utterance of the Nizam at the Coronation Dürbar at Delhi in January, 1903, when, alluding to the pleasure it had given him to be present, he added, "after the custom of my ancestors to show in a simple, straightforward, and soldierly manner, by word and deed, my historical friendship and loyalty." "In the preservation of that friendship and loyalty," the author of the essay rightly says, "the future of the Hyderabad State lies."

## SOCIAL ASPECTS OF NATIVE LIFE IN BENGAL.

BY R. E. FORREST.

A GREAT deal might be written about this little book.\* There is the mere fact of its existence. A book in English, and mostly good English, dealing with questions of social and religious reform, by one in the position of the writer, is a matter of great interest to those who can look back to the opening days of English education in India. The object first aimed at was to open out the great treasure-house of English literature to the people of India, and the Colleges were founded. Then came the measures for elementary education, the enabling the people to read, write, and calculate, and the founding of the village schools. The colleges were used chiefly by those of the lower classes; those of the upper classes held wholly aloof. Then came the measures for the education of those of the upper, the uppermost, classes—those who ruled over kingdoms and principalities, were the owners of vast estates, of the gentry, nobility, and royalties of India, in their own homes or without them—the founding of the Mayo College, whose establishment was fraught with great consequences, and a measure of great boldness.

It is well to be dissatisfied, it is well to say that India wants more roads, railways, and irrigation works; but those who can look back to the time when these were practically non-existent (the railways, of course, wholly so) cannot but think that the work already done in providing them should be looked upon as great and valuable. And so with regard to our educational system—it is well to extend and improve it, remedy the defects that have shown themselves in it, so far as they can be remedied, and are not inherent; but those who can look back on the days of its introduction cannot but regard its work, too, as large and fruitful. In Northern India the introduction of the village schools was looked on as a necessary supplement of the land system. The splendid registration of his holdings and rights and dues lost much of its value to the cultivator when he could not read or write. The object was to deliver him out of the hands of the money-lender, the tax-gatherer, the grasping landlord—to give him a greater capacity for managing his own affairs. That capacity he has gained and displays; testimony is borne to it from many quarters. Permission having been given in the United Provinces to the cultivators to pay their dues, if they chose, direct into the Government treasury, rather than to the landlord, by means of money orders, this was availed of to such an extent as to threaten the influence of the landlord. Formerly it was said of the colleges that their result was to turn out an army of clerks. It was a good result. It was the beginning of the much-wanted middle class. How

\* *Studies*, by B. C. Mahtab, Maharaj-Adhiraj of Burdwan. W. Newman and Co., Calcutta; Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., London, 1904.

could the work of State administration, of the railways, of the great commercial houses, of the banks, have been carried out without them? They began to supply all over the land, away from the great seaports, homes in which the children were in contact with some measure of English speech and knowledge, with English banks, from their infancy, where an education in English was a settled and not an accidental, thing. The progress of a foreign language must be by generations. It is said that education has been sought, not for culture, but to earn a living, to rise in the world. Surely the same motives operate among ourselves. But the rise from daily wages to a salary and pension, from the hut of a labourer to a large, well-provided house, was culture. In the large and important class of natives in Government employ, so largely in the honourable and important branch of the judiciary, there has been a marked improvement in the moral sense. The large new middle class, composed of pleaders, barristers, doctors, journalists, schoolmasters, engineers, merchants, manufacturers, Government servants, who have received an education in English, is an important and recent product of our rule. The leaven has worked; we may not like some features of the fermentation, but we have put life into the long stagnant mass. The seed has germinated; there has been some evil growth—growth disagreeable to ourselves, but, on the whole, a most excellent crop, and we deem it our duty that the great field should be cultivated. The growth has been as great as could be expected from the condition of the field. There are now thousands of educated, English-knowing natives where formerly there were hundreds. The class is not numerous anywhere, but there are now not a few natives in India to whom, in the direction of scholarship and culture, English literature has been what the literature of Rome and Greece has been to like-minded men in Europe. Things happen which thirty years ago would have been deemed impossible. One native represents an English constituency, and sits in the House of Commons; another has been high among the wranglers at Cambridge. Every year many natives are called to the Bar in London, a fact fraught with most enormous consequences for the future of India. Young men of the highest and most orthodox families in the land leave their Zenana homes, to be trained in various institutions after Western methods, to receive an education of which the knowledge of English forms the leading part. Native ladies write English verses, English books, take their place in English society in London. To me it seems no small thing to see in an English magazine, published in India, edited by a native, an article excellently written, with well-marshalled facts and arguments, by a Zemindar of Northern India, in which he upholds and justifies the passage of land into the hands of his own class—that of money-lender; and no Englishman will deem it an anti-climax to note that out of an Indian college has come a cricketer who holds a foremost place among the players of England.

The Indian mind has been quickened to higher issues, to aspirations after a purer faith. Men are abandoning the Hindu system of religion, in itself, whatever men of high thought and holy life there may be in it,

childish, foul, cruel, loathsome, degraded, relic of a far-back age of savagery. New sects have been founded, new organizations for moral improvement. It moves.

In this book are to be found one or two errors of the kind which people term "Babu English," as if that were the only way in which the people referred to write the tongue designated. Choice specimens of this Babu English are collected, and people laugh much over them. That is all right so long as the laughter is not scornful, or founded wholly on the feeling to which some refer all laughter, the sense of superiority. But that series of papers about "Jabbergie," now published in book form, had better not have appeared. It was not well to affix the epithet Jabbergie to those of an alien race striving to speak our tongue. It would be a political error to consider the educated Bengalis as Jabbergies; just as it was a political error to regard the Irishman as a mere shillelah-flourishing buffoon. The term is offensive. Gibes cut. The thing is not true: the jargon employed does not represent the erroneous writing. In the same way Mr. Kipling, his early Bombay experience vitiating his later knowledge of Northern India, gives us his fantastic Babu talking, his fantastic nonsense, as he skips about among the Himalayas with his open umbrella in his hand. A Bengali Babu has made a remarkable journey in that region, and written an account of it in English. Mr. Kipling's picture can be tested. There is plenty of good Babu English. How do we stand ourselves in regard to the knowledge and use of foreign languages, of those of India? Is there not need to revise and give more common meaning to our translations of the Scriptures into the tongues of that land? Has not the invocation to the Deity, "O God!" been translated, once at least, into "Halloa, God!"? Our attitude towards those striving to use and employ our noble tongue, who have received their education through it, should be one of kindness, interest, sympathy. Surely that should form a common bond. When English education was first started in India the forming of such a bond was one hoped-for good result. The bond between pupil and teacher is held a very close one in the East. "The teacher is more to the pupil than his father, for the one is only father to his body, the other to his soul." The bond was closer in the old days, when the teacher sat with his dozen pupils around him, than now, when the lecturer stands with four dozen listeners facing him. The teachers were then not so alien to the taught, not so much above their heads, above the work. My experience is not recent; I write from the loopholes of retreat; I know nothing as yet of the proposals of the recent Education Commission. I give my remarks for what they are worth. But I can remember the formation of the Education Department in the North-West Provinces, and how the first head of it took great credit for the sweeping away of the amenities and kindnesses of the old system, the making the passing of tests the one thing to be considered, thought about, aimed at. The want of sympathy, of feeling, of the play of human emotion, has been the great drawback of the system. A pupil of one of the old colleges—Agra, Delhi, Bareilly—was proud of his college, and came long distances to

revisit it. Then the eye of pupil and teacher was not fixed solely on the distant University. There have been plenty of able and eminent men in the Education Department in India. But every man sent out to it from England should be most carefully chosen. And should not there be some special preparation for it, as in the Oriental languages?

The educated native often raises antipathies and fears. Let those be duly weighed and considered. But let us rise to a view of the grandeur of the thing as a whole. One dominant feature in the history of the past has been the flow of human knowledge between East and West, from one to the other alternately. Now we have set the tide flowing Eastward—made a new era.

The errors laughed at spring mostly from one cause—the use of big words in small places, of small words in big places. When the latter takes place at the end of a sentence, it produces an anti-climax, a laughter-moving incongruity. In the Onocoolal Mitter book we had something of this sort: “Then in the house was lamentation, weeping and wailing, a tearing of the hair and a beating of the breast—in short, a pretty kettle of fish.” As there is only one sentence of this kind in the book I give it. In the preface the object of the book is declared to be “to point out certain religious and social defects which are found, more or less, everywhere in Bengal, and which, unless checked, will bring her people to a pretty pass.” Expressions such as “rum ideas,” “level best,” are used as if they were equivalent to “strange ideas,” “utmost.” But there are plenty of excellent sentences. We will quote two short ones, for the sake of the spirit as well as of the form. With regard to some uncomplimentary epithets applied to himself, he writes: “Whatever else he may be, he is not a traitor to his convictions, nor has he a guilty conscience to torment him. He depends for every action of his on his honest beliefs, and is a faithful, obedient, and devoted servant of God.” The book, on the whole, is well and clearly written.

With regard to progress and reform the Maharaja is wholly for improvement from within, for “keeping the old furniture with some varnishing and repainting,” as it would be termed, probably, by members of the Brahmo Somaj, whose own procedure in the matter, that of leaving the house, the Maharaja condemns. With regard to religion, he says: “Bengal stands in need of a religion which would combine the spirituality of the *Upanishads* with the simplicity of the *Puranas*, which would so harmonize the cruder portion with the more refined that the former would not seem to its votaries to be at variance with the latter, and which would be neither too intellectual for the masses nor too emotional for the learned. We want a simple form of Monism saturated with the spirit of *Bhakti* and loving submission to the Divine will. Such a religion will suit the peasant and the philosopher alike, being a universal and simple Monism based on the *Advaitism* of the *Upanishads*, and suited to the practical requirements of everyday life. Now we have too much philosophy on one side, and gross idolatry on the other; either *Shad-darshan*, which are very difficult of application to practical life, or crass symbolism, which is bereft

of all spirituality. The two great systems of religious belief in Bengal have," he says, "lost their symbolic nature, and to-day the *Linga* and *Ganripatta*, which were meant to represent the *Parusha* and the *Prakriti* of the *Shankhya* philosophy, or the *Brahma* and *Maya* of the *Vedantists*, are not looked upon in their true light, and Shiva-worship is practised in Bengal by most people for the cure of diseases, and by child-maids for securing eligible bridegrooms. Missions like those of the Christian people should be started, to preach in every town and village to the ignorant masses and the thoughtless educated men the true meaning of symbolism and its identity with real Monism."

In his address to the Brahmos, he says: "Why should Hindus leave their ancient faith, which is the grandest and most liberal in the world, without trying it and finding it wanting? *Hinduism* can never be destroyed. Like the sun, it may be eclipsed, but it cannot be obliterated." Also, "Is it good to do away totally with the symbolism, the nature-worship, of the *Vedas*, which is the ladder reaching to the high pinnacle of *Advaitism*?" Again, "Do not symbolism and nature-worship form a strong basis for esoteric Hinduism? . . . Does a man reach his housetop without the help of a staircase?"

The enemy of God is the idol. It was thundered from Sinai, "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image," a perpetual injunction against a perpetual temptation. The idol does not raise up to God, but draws down from Him. It does not raise man to the spiritual, but draws him down to the material. The symbol swallows up the thing symbolized. The material cannot represent the spiritual. Any image of the Deity must be offensive to His Majesty. The lustful idol can only represent lust; the childish image childishness; the brutal image brutality. They can only reproduce and perpetuate those things. When founding Brahmoism, Rammohun Ray, says the author, "intended to impart a spiritual religion"; and then he asks in another place, "Is the religion that *Brahmoism* professes to teach good for the unrefined class?" It is from the lowest—that is, the poorest—classes that the great spiritual religions have sprung. Theirs the simple village shrine, not the temple, with its marvels of architecture, its images of great price, jewel-laden, its vessels of gold and silver, its lights, its candlesticks of valuable metal, its music, the clashing of cymbals and beating of drums, its flowers and incense, its recognition of the material presence of the deity, its food offerings, its holy water, its ringing of bells and beating of gongs, its crowd of priests, its day-long ritual—this rises in the rich mart: it means wealth; it is the triumph of the material. It is those who are accustomed to the delights of the senses who desire them in their places of worship too. It is the rajahs and bankers who have built and endowed the great temples. There are many places where it may be distinctly seen that a worship with symbols and images is held by those of the upper classes, one without by those of the lower. There are places in which the former kind of worship has failed to attract the common people, others in which it attracts and demoralizes them. There has been a peasantry on whom

plain living was enforced, iconoclasts, with a high intellectual faith. There are in India millions of people belonging to a religion in which the highest and the lowest hold the same creed, of which the leading feature is the abjuring of idolatry: these are the Mussulmans. The revolt against idolatry infuses a new energy into a nation—raises it to a higher level. The Maharaja appeals to the Brahmos to come back to the orthodox fold. Coming under the influence of a higher civilization and faith, those members of a religion of which the sacred books consist mostly of filthy rubbish, whose mode of worship is base and debasing, whose priesthood is ignorant, greedy, lustful, tyrannous, could not do otherwise than leave it. The Maharaja is wrong in thinking that the ignoble can form a basis for the noble. The evil and the false do not lead up to the good and the true: they block the way; they have to be got rid of. He uses the illustration of a ladder. But on a ladder you can only get on to a higher rung by leaving the lower one; you will never get to the top by continuing to stand on the lowermost one. The clean uppermost chambers of the home prepared on this earth for man are not to be reached by lying in the cess-pool. The unrefined must not be left there.

But apart from the general discussion of the value, or otherwise, of symbolism is the special question of the form and influence of any one symbol itself. We are sorry to find the author writing—we have given the sentence—of the foul symbols of the phallic worship as if he were writing of *a* and *y*, talking of their original symbolic nature—which has been lost sight of, of course—without any reference to their form. The compelling force of circumstances on one in the position of the Maharaja of Burdwan of old customs and the faith of his people is mighty and enormous. He can no more cease to be a Hindu than the Tsar of Russia can cease to belong to the Greek Church, the King of Italy to the Catholic. But on this point he should act. He should clear his estate of these foul images. They are a scandal and a reproach. Representations of the human organs of generation, of the act of coition, would not be allowed to be publicly exhibited in any civilized country. They would be dealt with by the police as contrary to public decency. Let him think of the effect of these things, being under the observation of all from childhood, being worshipped by the women. Their presence in the land keeps morality and decency at a very low level.

In his chapter on "Widow-Marriage" the Maharaja says the subject should receive the most serious thought; that the question of the marriage of child-widows—those who have never in reality been wives—should receive immediate consideration, that being countenanced by the *Shastras*; even if they did not, and enforced widowhood were found productive of great evils, "we should introduce widow-marriage, how much so ever unwilling we might be to break through cherished traditions: for verily a grain of fact is worth many bushels of sentiment, and orthodoxy can never outweigh considerations of morality." Well and boldly said.

In the matter of early marriage he writes well and bravely also. The subjects of widow-marriage and infant-marriage are closely connected, of

course. Infant mortality being high, infant-marriage is greatly the cause of the great number of widows—the appallingly great number. “In the district of Burdwan, out of a total female population of 767,733, there were 215,953 widows of ages varying from four to sixty.”

“A community practising child-marriage is doomed, for it gets more degenerated, physically, intellectually, and morally, from generation to generation.”

The next paragraph throws a strange light on the social condition from which the Hindu community is slowly emerging :

“In towns, and the villages adjoining them, matters are looking much brighter, and many young girls are married at the ages of nine, or eleven, or even twelve or thirteen.”

“But even this is not satisfactory progress.”

He advocates the laying down of the rule “that girls should not be married before the age of eleven, and that in cases of slow development marriage should be deferred even to the thirteenth year.” He would fix the age of consummation at fifteen, in cases of slow development at seventeen.

“Social reform by legislative enactment frequently proves to be either inoperative or a source of oppression. Every natural growth is from within.” Elsewhere he says: “To make real progress, it is essential that we should use our own legs instead of depending entirely, as heretofore, on the go-cart of State help.”

In one of his thirteen chapters the writer deals with the subject of “Prostitution in Bengal,” that being its heading. “The number of immoral women is increasing every day in Bengal, and it is necessary that strenuous efforts should be made to put down the great evil of prostitution.” I believe that of all the great cities of the world, Calcutta and New York are the two in which the prostitutes bear the largest proportion to the population. The Maharaja speaks well on the subject, and no doubt shows courage in dealing with it at all. But he does not touch on the points of the class being a recognised part of the community, playing an open and cherished part in the social life of the land, forming a part of the establishment of temples, all of which connect themselves, in my mind, with the phallic worship and the exhibition of the phallic images.

The writer says, very justly, that “the subjects of pasture-land and drinking-water in Bengal villages are of vital importance.” Those subjects engaged one’s own attention much in the (then) North-West Provinces, where each village has its tank, and where the canal irrigation was a leading factor in the extension of the cultivation. “It is these tanks that have most certainly to answer for the malarial fevers,” which some writers have attributed to the starving of the people by the English Government. The shrinking of the pasturage is a heavy counterbalance to the added wealth, the increased purchasing power of the villages, by the extension of the cultivated area, as well as by the growing of more valuable crops. The lessening of the milk-supply is a serious evil.

But of the added wealth, the increased purchasing power, there is no



question. A year or two ago a Bengal gentleman, revisiting the rural parts of his province, mentioned, incidentally, the great improvement visible in the dress of the people, and how with the women silver ornaments were taking the place of pewter. And here it is mentioned how the village girls must have gold ornaments instead of silver (the wearing of gold ornaments by women of the same class has been noted in the Punjâb too), and how they must have "floral-bordered *saris*," "bodices of satin," "though their mothers were satisfied with coarse *dhoties*, and never dreamt of wearing even a plain white linen skirt"; while the cultivator is seen wearing a stylishly-cut shirt and a *dhoti*," "carrying a scarf," all imported from Europe, holding over his head an umbrella, "for fear of getting sunburnt," the Maharaja says sarcastically. The same improvement in the dress of the people displayed itself to one's own eyes in Northern India, and even more strikingly, for the enormous change in the means of transport, due to the making of railways and the opening of the Suez Canal, had just begun to have its influence.

And in this connection I may mention that I have seen in the old days, fifty years back, how great was the need for more and better clothing in that part of India, the generalization that "the people of India want but little clothing" being derived from experience of the deltaic and coast regions. In Northern India the people had to be well equipped against the cold, which tells so much upon them because of previous periods of great heat, dry or damp; against the sudden chills in the rains; against the sharp cold of the winter, more especially at its first coming, when the fevers most prevail. I remember how eagerly in those days the condemned serge-jackets of the sepoy were bought up, how the most acceptable Christmas present to our servants was that of a broadcloth coat or jacket. Light, warm clothing came as an enormous boon to the people, and was used, not out of vanity, but because it added comfort and health; it armed them against the vicissitudes of the seasons. The people have purchased cotton and woollen goods from England in ever-increasing quantities because they needed them and could pay for them.

One of the most striking things in the trade of India has been the enormous importation of umbrellas. The people, no doubt, purchased these as articles of display, marks of dignity, of respectability, as well as for their protective power. Their freedom to buy and use them indicated a social and political revolution. Formerly they could not have done so; the use of them was restricted to those of highest rank, sometimes only to monarchs; they were emblems of royalty. In the Maharaja's sarcastic remark is a remnant of the old feeling. Probably in olden times he himself alone could have used them on his estate.

The writer deals with a number of other interesting and important subjects—the Vernacular Press, the Government Educational System, Female Education, Changes in the Dress and Habits of Ladies of the Upper Classes—which time and space prevent me from touching upon. The book has an interest of its own, as exhibiting the working of the mind of one in the position of the Maharaja at a time of upheaval, of transition

and change, held strongly by the past, acted upon strongly by the new, and there the old is very old, the new is very new. And in England, too, is upheaval and transition : enormous changes in social, political, economical, and industrial conditions, in education, literature, religion, the very new giving place to the very newest. It is of the very deepest interest to watch the same process going on under such very different conditions among peoples in such very different grades of civilization. We ourselves seem to be leaving the plane up to which we have been striving to raise India, doffing the garments we wished them to don. The whole condition of thought and feeling under which we have ruled India seems to be changing. What difference will it make when the forms on which we have been striving to mould the civilization of India are changed ?

## A TRIP TO THE ANTIPODES.\*

BY GEORGE BROWN, M.D.

AFTER leaving Wellington, next morning we reached Lyttleton by steamer, where a few passengers met their friends and departed to different parts of the colony, and where also our luggage was examined by the Custom-house officials. It was quite a bustling affair to see the different articles dragged out of the huge central cavity of the steamer and swung aloft by the crane, dashing against the sides of their resting-place, and finally crashing down on the quay, where each was claimed by its possessor. It is a very rude and rough way of getting rid of the different kinds of luggage, and though expeditious, being worked by machinery, yet great damage is often done to the wooden boxes and their contents when finally they reach the end of the journey. One box of this kind was completely smashed up, the lid wrenched off, and the lock broken, and various articles destroyed, including an emu's egg, which I had carefully packed in cotton-wool with a cover to insure its safety. This I found out at the end of my return journey to the old country, all this damage being done in the United States, where this kind of work was managed in a very rough manner. At Lyttleton my luggage was left under the care of a porter named Brown whilst I inquired about the time the train started and other details of the journey south, and when I had time to overhaul it, I found my notebook was stolen, in which I had jotted down different items of interest on the journey south; and the deck-chair used throughout the voyage was also *non est inventum*, though I saw it put in the train. There is a good deal of thieving done in this way, for on my return journey one of my boxes was again tampered with at Lyttleton—the key of the expectant thief

\* Continued from our January issue (see pp. 124-138).

being left in the lock was evidence enough of his intention.

The train was crowded when we started going south, and at Timaru my sister and brother-in-law awaited me at the station, where we met after an interval of over forty years. Here I stayed several weeks, and felt quite like a resident in this pleasant, enterprising town. It is delightfully situated on the coast, and has a fine harbour, which can safely take in vessels of very high tonnage. It has also a fine seashore on each side of the harbour, where much time may be spent very pleasantly over the different varieties of treasure-trove in the shape of Nature's products, such as small sponges, limpet-shells of different colours, whelks of the same size as those on the coasts at home, many of them with a stone lid or operculum to protect them from their enemies ; chitons, too, in appearance like a trilobite, one small and another of larger size, able to roll themselves into a ball to protect themselves ; a large number of chitons attached to the seaweed, and with it cast ashore ; a pawa or mutton-fish shell of large size and beautiful colours. There are also plenty of fish on the coast, and with a line and bait a basket may soon be filled.

Caroline Bay, on the left side of the harbour, with its pure clean sand, is one of the pleasantest places for idling away some holiday hours, and it has been greatly improved by the Town Council, and as a bathing-place in summer it must be a great boon to the inhabitants. It lies quite open to the Pacific, with its refreshing breezes from that great ocean and the incessant clanging sound of the fierce, stormy waves that hurl themselves on the rocks, which form one of the boundaries of the bay, and prevent the destruction of the land on that side.

Since my visit last year further improvements have been carried out in making a proper approach to the sea, planting cabbage-trees and other shrubs on its landward side, with seats for pedestrians, and a band rotunda for music, etc. In one corner of the bay there was a large collection of big

and small pebbles, some round as a cricket-ball, others flat and round, and others still quite oval, well polished and smooth and of perfect symmetry, ranging from the size of a farthing when oval or flat, and like a boy's marble when round, and many 3 or 4 inches in breadth, smoothed, rounded, and polished by the attrition of their surfaces by the rivers and sea. I had never seen such perfect examples of Nature's workmanship, and collected a number of them from the seashore and even from the roadside, and placed them as ornaments for my bedroom mantelpiece when at Timaru.

I had read a very learned, ingenious, and well-reasoned book on the "Unseen Universe," written some years ago by two well-known scientists—Professors Stewart and Tait—advocating the Atomic Theory as the primordial agency in producing our globe. These atoms, when aggregated, produced during some ages our present solid earth. "At the first," say they, "there may have been only one kind of primordial atom with absolute simplicity of material. As, however, the various atoms approached each other . . . other and more complicated structures took the place of the perfectly simple primordial stuff. Various kinds of molecules were produced at various temperatures, and these ultimately came together to produce globes or worlds, some of them comparatively small, others very large. Thus the progress is from the regular to the irregular. And we find a similar progress when we consider the inorganic development of our world. The action of water rounds pebbles, but it rounds them irregularly; it produces soil, but the soil is irregular in the size of its grains and variable in construction. Wherever what may be termed the brute forces of nature are left to themselves, this is always a result; not so, however, when organisms are concerned in the development." Thousands of these oval and flat stones may be seen in Timaru, and cartloads of them are used in improving the roads or making new ones, all of perfect symmetry, as if fashioned and polished by the hand of man. Darwin, whose

genius and painstaking labours as a naturalist have probably never been surpassed, has written a most interesting book on one of the lowest orders of creation—the earthworm. He writes of it in his book entitled “Vegetable Mould and Earthworms,” that “Earthworms are found in all parts of the world, and some of the genera have an enormous range. They inhabit the most isolated islands; they abound in Iceland, and are known to exist in the West Indies, St. Helena, Madagascar, New Caledonia, and Tahiti. . . . In the Antarctic regions worms from Kerguelen’s Land have been described by Ray Lancaster, and I have found them in the Falkland Islands. How they reach such isolated islands is at present quite unknown. . . . In the dry climate of New South Wales I hardly expected that worms would be common; but Dr. G. Krefft, of Sydney, to whom I applied after making inquiries from gardeners and others, from his own observations informs me that their castings abound. . . .” And he (Darwin) mentions that “there is a species called *Perichæta* found in different localities of a large size, which throw up large tower-like castings. . . .” He says also: “Worms appear to act in the same manner in New Zealand as in Europe, for Professor van Haart has described a section near the coast consisting of mica-schist, covered by 5 or 6 feet of loess, above which about 12 inches of vegetable soil have accumulated.” It is remarkable that throughout all the places and gardens and fields I visited in New Zealand I never saw a worm or any casting such as would indicate its presence in the soil. There can be no doubt that New Zealand was under the sea for a great length of time, as large boulders and immense stones perfectly polished can be seen everywhere in the fields in the country, and if the stones are turned over to get a worm you will not find one. The soil is very rich, and the fine air and sunshine are quite enough to produce all manner of garden produce. In Australia, also in New South Wales, where I resided for some time, there was quite an absence of worms and slugs, and at Berry, about 120 miles from

Sydney, I discovered how Nature preserved and took care of the lower orders of creation. The eucalyptus and gum-trees do not shed their leaves, but, instead, get rid of their bark, and at the lower end of the stem an accumulation of dried loose bark may be found, where all manner of creeping things may be found—cocoon, little bags of eggs of different insects, etc. One day when I was stripping the dead bark at the root of a large tree a huge spider fell down, and standing on its hind-legs, put itself in battle array against me. He looked very formidable, with a body 1 inch in breadth and legs about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length. These spiders have a poisonous bite, and thinking discretion as a rule in such cases is the better part of valour, I retreated, and bringing back some chloroform, poured a few drops near where he was standing, which in a short time had quite a pleasant somnolent effect—he slept the sleep of the just, and with a little prussic acid his mortal career was brought to a close. Kind nature thus protects the lowest orders of creation by giving them a dry and pleasant abode during the colder months of the year, and many different species of moth, cocoons, beetles, etc., all live together as a happy family in this pleasant home, but no worms, either there or on the soil, are to be seen. In one of the "Public School Series" books of New Zealand there is one with the title "Nature in New Zealand," compiled by Mr. James Drummond, and edited by Captain F. W. Hutton, F.R.S. At page 71 the following sentence occurs: "The slugs and snails and nearly all the earthworms we see about us have introduced themselves without invitation." As we sailed in the steamer *Sierra* from Auckland to San Francisco, when near Pago Pago the sun set with uncommon brilliancy in the west, flooding the whole ocean with its rays, and shortly after on the sky immediately above the horizon a most lovely picture of a landscape was thrown on this ethereal canvas, depicting a woodland scene with beautiful trees and lakes and villas, all with a glow of a soft, warm, golden colour, such as no hand of painter could produce, with a soft radiance lighting

it up from behind, bringing out every detail of this incomparable picture with conspicuous clearness. Here was exemplified

“The light that never was on sea or land,  
The consecration of the poet’s dream,”

and it would be difficult to explain the formation of such a sublime picture, and how atoms, whether of spray or dust, could have produced such an effect.

But to return : I passed a very pleasant time at Timaru, and had an excellent chance of making myself acquainted with the town and surrounding districts. My nephew took me out in a trap several times with this object in view. The large extent of fine lands with a good soil, ready for the husbandman to receive ample returns for his work expended on it ; the well-kept fields, with lovely gorse hedges in perpetual bloom ; and the farms, in many places embosomed in trees, give an air of peace and contentment that speaks volumes for their industry and Nature’s bounty. There are very few of the old native population in this South or Middle Island, though at Temuka, a town about ten miles distant, there are a few with a chapel of their own. In driving there we crossed the river by a very long wooden bridge, and bridges of this sort are essential to the safety of the inhabitants, as the rivers receive after much rain a great body of water, that rushes down from the mountains, and before these long bridges were built many a life had been lost in crossing the stream. In dry weather these rivers are very shallow, and divide themselves in two or more streams. One bridge near Arundel of this sort is said to be about half a mile in length on account of the great space between the two banks ; and when there is not very much water the river makes its way by more than one channel to the ocean.

There is not much animal life to be seen on the roads or in the fields, except the sheep on the land and the sparrows in the field. As everyone knows, the rearing of sheep is one of the very first industries, and when old



enough to be killed and frozen, a very large quantity of it as mutton goes to the old country. Horses are numerous, and every Saturday a sale takes place in the town; and throughout the colony also, in the chief towns, horse-racing is indulged in, and this keeps up a good breed of horses, and is to many of the inhabitants a source of enjoyment.

There are some birds in New Zealand which belong to a prehistoric age, and testify to the great antiquity of their existence as well as the country. The moa, a gigantic bird, 12 feet in height, at one time roamed the country; nothing but its bones now remain. It had no wings, but to balance this defect its legs were long and strong. Another is the kiwi, and its ancestry is supposed to be as respectable as the moa, and like it, has no wings. The weka is another strange bird, and though he has wings, they are of no use to him. Lady Barker, in her charming book, "Station Life in New Zealand," gives an interesting notice of this bird. With some friends she made an excursion to a small island in Lake Coleridge, and was amused at their thieving propensities. She says: "The fragments of our meal must have been a great boon to the colony of wekas who inhabit this island, for as they increase and multiply prodigiously, their provisions must often fall short in so small a place. No one can imagine how these birds originally came here, for the island is at least two miles from the nearest point of land; they can neither swim nor fly, and as every man's hand is against them, no one would have thought it worth while to bring them over. But here they are, in spite of all the apparent impossibilities attending their arrival, more tame and impudent than ever. It was dangerous to leave your bread unwatched for an instant, and, indeed, I saw one gliding off with an empty sardine tin in its beak. I wondered how it liked oil and little scales. They considered a cork a great prize, and carried several of them off triumphantly. They are very like a hen-pheasant without the long tail feathers, and until you examine them, you cannot tell they have no

wings, though there is a sort of small pinion among the feathers with a claw at the end of it." Speaking of the inhabitants, she writes: "The look and bearing of the immigrants appear to alter soon after they reach the colony. Some people object to the independence of their manner, but I do not; on the contrary, I like to see the upright gait, the well-fed, healthy look, the decent clothes (even if no one touches his hat to you), instead of the half-starved, depressed appearance, and too often cringing servility of the mass of our English population. Scotchmen do particularly well out here: frugal and thrifty, hard-working and sober, it is easy to predict the future of a man of this type in a new country." This was written many years ago, and very few drunken men are to be seen compared with the time of her visit, and I may say, as a rule, so far as my evidence goes, the working man is diligent in his work and eager to get it finished; this may be judged from the rapidity with which the wooden houses are built and erected on the outskirts of Timaru. The land also responds to his toil in giving in return for his work a bountiful harvest, and Mr. Sinclair informed me that some fields of wheat grew 6 feet high near Timaru, well filled with grain, giving an extremely large return. I also had the pleasure of having a drive with Mr. Hart, and saw a large extent of country waiting the presence of the farmer to work it, as the soil would amply repay his labour.

In a book on the Antipodes written by W. G. Verschuury, and translated by Miss Mary Daniels, he writes that "we ought not to leave this part of the country without a word about the little town of Akaroa, near Lyttleton, whose historical associations are especially interesting to the French colonists. A certain Captain l'Anglois, being much charmed with the position of Akaroa, bought a large district of land of 30,000 acres in the neighbourhood, and returned to France to seek colonists to settle on his property. The Government encouraged his plan, and supplied an old man-of-war, under Captain Lavaud, to protect the emigrants

on landing. Lavaud was ordered to proceed at once and await their arrival. L'Anglois left Europe with those who had been attracted by the hope of making a fortune in distant lands, and cast anchor in the Bay of Akaroa August 17, 1840. To his great astonishment he perceived the English flag flying where he expected to see his own. The enigma was soon solved. Captain Lavaud, before reaching Akaroa, had stopped at Auckland, and had there met with an English captain named Hobson, who was looking after British interests in that part of the Pacific, and who gave Lavaud a cordial reception. New Zealand had not at this time been annexed to England. In an unguarded moment Lavaud divulged the object of his mission, and boasted of the beauty and the fertility of the adjoining country. Hobson, an energetic but unscrupulous man, believed that there was a great future for New Zealand, and his great ambition was to see that island annexed to England. Therefore, while the dilatory Frenchman was amusing himself on shore, he hastily despatched a small warship in the direction of Akaroa, with orders to plant the English flag there before the arrival of the French. The stratagem succeeded, and Lavaud found himself, to his great dismay, just too late. The British standard had been unfurled on the hill above the bay, and not only Akaroa, but the whole of New Zealand, was added to the British dominions.

In the "New Zealand Year-Book" for 1903 it is stated: "It was here that Captain Stanley hoisted the British flag on August 11, 1840, when he took possession of the Middle Island on behalf of the Crown, forestalling the French by a few hours only. A suitable obelisk commemorating the event has been erected on the spot."

An incident somewhat similar to this happened to Lord John Russell when he was asked at the Colonial Office by an official of the French Government how much of Australia was claimed as the dominion of Great Britain. He promptly answered: "The whole." The visitor, quite

taken aback, found it expedient to take his departure. It was most fortunate that New Zealand was preserved from the intrusion of any foreign power.

Taken as a whole, New Zealand is a country of which its inhabitants may have a just pride, and resembles the old mother-country, though a great deal more democratic than she can ever be. Fortunately it is too far off to be the dumping-ground of many who have not succeeded at home, though a few have come to get their habits changed, but as a rule have only changed the sky, but not their minds. The clear pure air; the beautiful sky; the lovely nights when the radiant moon sends its silvery light over the island so bright that you may easily read a book from its rays; the large extent of rich alluvial soil ready for the plough to raise enormous crops; the five spring months, April, May, June, July, and August, in which seed may be sown with ripened crops before winter; the genial air; the moderate amount of rain; the sunshine with its temperature; the general absence of snow in winter; the fair day's wage for a fair day's work for its industrious population; the absence of pauperism; the fine roads for travelling; the excellent mutton and beef; the abundance of fish round the coast, with salmon and trout in the rivers, all combine to show that it has been prepared for an enterprising, industrious, and healthy population.

AREA OF AUSTRALASIAN COLONIES, ETC.\*

	Square Miles.	Population.	Total Public Revenue (Railway and Telegraph).	Gold (£).	Land in Crop (Acres).	Silver and Silver Lead.
Victoria ... ..	87,884	1,208,705	7,712,099	260,489,210	2,965,681	856,539
New South Wales	310,700	1,379,700	11,178,214	49,661,815	2,278,370	32,341,577
Queensland ...	668,497	510,515	4,327,345	52,751,675	483,460	788,042
South Australia	903,390	360,212	2,386,854	2,388,197	2,236,552	118,630
Western Australia	975,920	194,889	3,688,049	30,149,712	216,824	11,453
Tasmania ...	26,215	174,233	826,163	4,893,588	232,550	2,384,886
New Zealand ...	104,471	787,657	6,152,830	59,159,883	1,501,136	380,806
	3,077,377	4,615,911	36,271,554	459,494,071	9,914,573	36,881,933

\* From the "New Zealand Year-Book" for 1903, p. 361, and the "Tasmanian Year-Book" for the same year.

## LAND, LIVE-STOCK, ETC., 1901-1902.\*

	Horses.	Sheep.	Cattle.	Pigs.
Victoria ... ..	392,237	10,841,790	1,602,384	35,370
New South Wales ... ..	486,716	41,857,099	2,047,454	265,730
Queensland ... ..	462,119	10,030,971	3,772,707	121,641
South Australia ... ..	177,969	5,060,540	489,417	89,877
Western Australia ... ..	73,830	2,542,844	394,580	61,026
Tasmania ... ..	32,399	1,792,451	168,661	58,716
New Zealand ... ..	279,672	20,233,099	1,361,699	2,240,024
	1,904,942	92,358,795	9,836,902	1,171,384

	Tons.	£
Phormium or flax ... ..	20,852	534,031
Kauri gum ... ..	7,430	4,450,223
Frozen meat ... ..	—	2,718,763
Wool ... ..	—	3,354,503

The area in square miles of the United Kingdom is :

England and Wales ... ..	58,311
Scotland ... ..	30,463
Ireland ... ..	32,531

121,305

Population in 1904, 42,789,552.

The preceding tables will show in a concise manner the progress of the colonies, not for one year, but since statistics were used to bring together in an annual form the chief sources and interests of the increasing occupation of the land by the immigrants. Colonization has become much easier than it was to our forefathers, who were entirely dependent on the winds as their only motive power, and were for weeks sometimes stranded on the sea, unable to move for the want of it. Now it is quite a pleasurable excursion, with every convenience adapted for the safety and comfort of the passengers, and the voyage taking about half the time the old sailing craft took when the winds were too adverse, or the sea too calm to make much progress,

\* From the "New Zealand Year-Book," p. 391, and Walch's "Tasmania Almanack," p. 276.

with the indefinite prospect when you would arrive at the end of the journey.

The comparative tables of the amount of sunshine recorded in Surrey in England and in Christchurch, New Zealand, respectively, during last year (1901), and published in the *Christchurch Press*, afford valuable proof of the brightness of the climate as compared with that of England. The English records were taken at a place near Hindhead, on the Surrey highland, first made known by Professor Tyndall selecting a site for a house there. The district has since become famous as one of the healthiest and sunniest in England, and these characteristics, coupled with its comparative proximity to London, have made it a popular residential district. It is a case, then, of one of the most sunny districts in England being compared with a New Zealand town, which we can hardly suppose to be more blessed with sunshine than many other places in the colony. This being so, it will be admitted that Christchurch comes splendidly out of the test with 1749·59 hours of sunshine during the year, as against Surrey's 1492·2 hours, a difference in favour of New Zealand of 257 hours. Nor is this the most striking comparison. The sun shone here on all but 39 days in the year, while at Hindhead there were no less than 81 absolutely sunless days. The monthly average of days on which the sun shone in Christchurch was 27, in Surrey it was under 24. The winter comparisons are still more forcible. Taking the four months from November to February as the English winter months, and those from May to August as the corresponding months out here, we find that whereas three of the months in England had but 16 days each on which sunshine was recorded, and the fourth had only 15 days, in Christchurch during the winter months the sun was seen on 28, 20, 30, and 29 days respectively. Our worst month was June, with little more than 55 hours of sunshine; but in Surrey December had only 42 sunny hours, January had 54, and February 55. On the other hand, the best English summer

record beats ours. July in Surrey had 229 hours of sunshine, our January had 217; but it must be remembered that summer days in England are longer than with us, just as our winter days are longer than with them.

1902.\*

GRAYSHOT, SURREY, ENGLAND.			CHRISTCHURCH, NEW ZEALAND.		
Days with Sun.	Days with no Sun.	Total Hours.	Days with Sun.	Days with no Sun.	Total Hours.
284	81	1492'2	326	39	1749'59

\* From the "New Zealand Official Year-Book," 1903, pp. 444, 445.

# QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

BY PROF. DR. EDWARD MONTET.

## GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

IN this Report we have to make special reference to the sixth edition of the "Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient," by G. Maspero,\* which has been entirely rewritten. Its excellence is still more enhanced by this new edition. The work has gained in clearness—that is to say, a great deal on a subject which includes all the ancient Orient, and in which the author explains the numerous troublous events of the old empires of Asia and Africa. The work is divided into five parts: (1) Egypt up to the Invasion of the Hykshos; (2) Earlier Asia before and during the Time of the Egyptian domination; (3) The Assyrian Empire and the Oriental World up to the advent of the Sargonides; (4) The Sargonides and the Oriental World up to the advent of Cyrus; (5) The Persian Empire.

We have always brought to notice, with sympathetic interest, any Catholic publications possessing a scientific value, be they works of free and Liberal Catholics, like the Abbé Loisy, or those emanating from the Ultramontane or Conservative Catholics, like the Abbé Vigouroux. We are also delighted to see the progress which has been made in the publication of the "Dictionary of the Bible" by the last-named scholar.

Part XXV.† has appeared. It begins with the word *Mahanêh-dan*, and terminates with the word *Mathathias*. Amongst the more interesting articles in this part we may cite: *Membré* (Mamre, near Hebron), the tribe of *Manassah*, and *Biblical Manuscripts* (with facsimiles).

We have several new parts to announce of the periodical *Der Alte Orient*, published by the Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft;‡ *Ethiopia*, by W. Max Müller; *Sennacherib, King of Assyria* (705-681), by O. Weber; and *Magic and Sorcery in Ancient Egypt*, by K. Wiedemann.

In the domain of history of religions we must mention the publication made on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of the Guimet Museum (1879-1904).§ Mr. Guimet has rendered so many services to the science of religions (Musée, "Revue de l'Histoire des Religions," "Annales du Musée Guimet," "Bibliothèque d'Études," "Bibliothèque de vulgarisation") that we must make special reference to his name.

\* Paris: Hachette et Cie., 1904 (175 engravings, three coloured maps, specimens of hieroglyphic and cuneiform writings).

† Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1904.

‡ Parts 2-4, sixth year. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1904-1905.

§ "Le Jubilé du Musée Guimet." Paris: E. Leroux, 1904.



In the popular edition of "Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher," published by Fr. Michael Schiele-Marburg, we have to point out an interesting pamphlet by Professor D. Bertholet on "The Migration of Souls" (Seelenwanderung).\*

EXEGESIS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT AND HISTORY OF THE  
PEOPLE OF ISRAEL.

Our readers will perhaps recall to mind that in our Report for April, 1902, we quoted the commentary of B. Baentsch on the "Exode-Levitique.† This commentary had appeared without any introduction, and the indispensable introduction for understanding the commentary has thus been delayed three years. It appeared in 1903, but we did not receive the volume until recently; hence our delay in referring to it. The new volume by Baentsch is entitled, "Numeri [translation and commentary] et Introduction à Exode-Levitique-Numeri."‡ The introduction is brief (82 pp.) and clear, which is a great advantage for a subject so difficult and so complicated.

There is another volume of general interest, viz., "Jerusalem under the High Priests," by Edwyn Bevan.§ The author, who is well-informed, has himself defined in a very exact manner the object he had in view. "The lectures (on the period between Nehemiah and the New Testament) in this book were composed for popular audiences in connection with the Bath and Wells Diocesan Society for Higher Religious Education, and it is not their object to produce what the professed historical student would regard as new results, but to give in a few strokes the general outline and colour of a period which must surely have an interest for everybody who finds any interest in the Bible." The subject is divided into five parts: (1) The End of the Persian Period and the Macedonian Conquest; (2) Hellenism and Hebrew Wisdom; (3) Judas Maccabæus and his Brethren; (4) The Hasmonæan Ascendancy; (5) The Fall of the Hasmonæans and the Days of Herod. We may mention here two interesting monographs, one by W. Spiegelberg about notes of Egyptian philology with respect to the Old Testament. The German title of the pamphlet—"Aegyptologische Randglossen zum Alten Testament"—is not sufficiently clear. The list of the words discussed in the pamphlet at the end is more explicit; it includes a hieroglyphical, a Greek, a Hebraic, and a Coptic and Assyrian part. These lists are almost exclusively composed of names of persons and places. The other monograph is a history of the "Jewish Catastrophe under Titus and Hadrian in the Talmud and the Midrash," by D. Spiegel.¶

\* Vol. iii., part 2. Halle a Saale: Gebauer-Schwetschke, 1904.

† "Handkommentar zum Alten Testament," herausg. von W. Nowack, 1 Abth., 2 Band, 1 Theil. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1900.

‡ *Ibid.*, 1903.

§ London: E. Arnold, 1904.

¶ Strassburg: Schlesier und Schweikhardt, 1904.

¶ "Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Katastrophe unter Titus und Hadrian im Talmud und Midrasch" (inaugural dissertation). Bern, 1903 (only lately come to hand).

We must notice the publication of the second part of the treatise "Baba Qamma du Talmud de Babylone" (German text and translation), by L. Goldschmidt.\*

ARABIC LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE: ISLAM—MOROCCO.

Among the Arabic grammars recently published, we must mention that of Captain L. Galland, of the Colonial Infantry, now Governor of the eastern part of the Trarza country in the Senegal. It is a grammar of ordinary Arabic for the use of the officers of the colonial troops, and written by a worthy arabist and an enthusiast of the Arabic language.† It will be reviewed in a future issue of this *Review*.

The "Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes," by V. Chauvin, has been increased by the addition of vol. viii., "Syntipas."‡ The author has adopted for the title of this volume the name of "Syntipas," which is suitable for the Greek version, and in order to prevent confusion. The author also establishes the genesis and the connection of the versions of the Syntipas. The following table shows the arrangement:

Original Sanscrit;  
Pahlavi version;  
Arabic version;

Syriac version (Sindbân); Hebrew version (Sindabâr); Spanish version; Tuti-Nâmeh; Persian version (Sindibâd-Nâmeh); the seven vizirs; Greek version (Syntipas). The ten vizirs, the Sâh Baht, and the forty vizirs contain remoter analogy with the Syntipas.

Chauvin's new volume presents the same interest as the preceding ones: learning, erudition, clearness and preciseness, valuable summaries of tales, explanatory notes, and a bibliography of extreme copiousness.

The publication of the eccentric translation of "The Thousand and One Nights," by Dr. Mardrus, is now completed with the sixteenth and last volume.§ This translation will not contribute to remove the prejudices which exist in Europe in regard to Arabic literature.

"L'Annuaire de l'École pratique des Hautes Études" (historical and philological part, Paris, 1905) includes a very interesting study by J. Halévy on the *Légende de la Reine de Saba*. The Biblical account (1 Kings x. 1-13) rests on a historic event, very probably the visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon for the purpose of settling economic relations between the two countries. It is specially in Islamism that the legend has developed (Kurân, Surah xxvii. 16-45: the army of birds, the valley of ants, the message of the hoopoe to the Queen, etc.). The Alexandrine Greek version of the legend, which gives the name of Nicaulis to the Queen of Sheba, and transforms her into the Queen of Ethiopia, takes a new life in Abyssinia in the thirteenth century, and gives rise to the

\* Berlin: S. Calvary und Co., 1905 (6 Band, 2 Lief).

† "Grammaire d'Arabe Régulier" (preface by Dr. E. Montet). Paris: E. Guilmoto, 1905.

‡ Liège: H. Vaillant-Carmanne, 1904.

§ Paris: E. Fasquelle, 1904.

Ethiopic legend of the Queen of Sheba, which is a most extraordinary story.

The *Journal Asiatique* of July-August, 1904, has published a very important essay by C. Huart on the Biblical poetry of Omayya. Omayya ben Abu's-Calt, a Meccan born at Taif, "who had read the Books and had followed the Judo-Christian doctrines," remained, nevertheless, a stranger to Islam until his death in 630, eight years after the Hijra. He may be considered as the precursor of Muhammad. C. Huart shows that the Biblical poetry of Omayya, given by the author of the "*Livre de la Création*," is authentic, and consequently anterior to the Kuran; therefore they are one of the sources of the Kuran. The expressions common to the Kuran and to Omayya are therefore those of Omayya. Perhaps Omayya aspired to play the rôle of the Arabian prophet.

In the "*Estudios de erudición Oriental*" (*Extracto del homenaje à D. Francisco Codera en su jubilacion del profesorado*),\* R. Basset has published an interesting fragment (Arabic text and French translation) of the description of Spain from the work of the anonymous geographer of Almeria (twelfth century), which is designate under the names of Ez Zohri and El Fezâri.

It is known that the celebrated translation of "The Thousand and One Nights" by Galland includes "L'Histoire de Codadâd et de ses frères."† This story does not appear in the Arabic manuscripts of the "Thousand and One Nights," translated by Pétis de la Croix; it was surreptitiously introduced in Galland's edition by the editor, unknown to Galland and Pétis.‡ The original Persian, pointed out for the first time by V. Chauvin, has recently been translated by A. Bricteux in *Le Muséon* (1904), with the title of "Histoire de Khodâdâd fils de Nauroûz-Châh et de ses frères."

It is useful that scholars should also write for the general public. We therefore must congratulate O. Houdas on having published his book, "L'Islamisme,"§ which treats in a general manner of the Musulman religion and Islam. The work is well got up, and deserves to be recommended.

It is in the same series of popular works, but written in the spirit of clericalism, one must place the pamphlet by I. L. Gondal, s.s., Professor of the Seminary of Saint Sulpice, on "Mahomet et son œuvre."|| For the author the life of the false prophet offers "ce mélange de dévotion et de luxure qui est devenu la caractéristique essentielle d'une religion qui permet aux hommes de placer le harem à l'ombre de la mosquée." The author is not afraid to affirm that "le monde religieux n'est redevable à Mahomet ni d'une idée, ni d'un sentiment, ni d'une pratique."

A case of great interest to Musulmans and friends of Musulmans is now

\* Zaragoza: M. Escar, 1904.

† Vol. ii., p. 425, of the edition by Garnier. Paris (without date): the current edition.

‡ V. Chauvin, "Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes," vol. vi., p. 71 (compare p. 69). Liège, 1902.

§ Paris: Dujarric et Cie., 1904 (collection des "Religions des peuples civilisés").

|| Paris: Bloud et Cie., 1904, 7 édition (collection "Science et Religion, études pour le temps présent").

being tried in Paris. I refer to the action of Abd-el-Hakim against the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Abd-el-Hakim, Counsellor of State of the Sultan of Morocco, asserts his right of being a Moroccan subject, in opposition to the French Government, who uphold that he is a Tunisian, because he was born in Tunis, though of Moroccan parents. The French Ambassador to Morocco had expelled Abd-el-Hakim from Tangier and Morocco, pretending that he was a Tunisian subject—that is to say, subject to French law and authority. It would appear that the rights of Abd-el-Hakim have been absolutely misunderstood, great confusion arising from an irreducible and endless conflict between European and Musulman law. Musulman nationality is determined by religion, there being but one Musulman nation, and a Musulman on changing his country changes his government (and not nationality), becoming a Moor in Morocco, a Tunisian in Tunis, a Turk in Turkey, whatever might be, in other respects, his origin. The lawsuit of Abd-el-Hakim has caused the publication of a volume in which will be found set forth the statement of facts and the pleadings and replies of M. Lecomte, advocate for the French Government, and of M. Labori, the advocate of Abd-el-Hakim.\* All those who are interested in Musulman law and the disputes which arise in its relations with European law will be interested in the book in question.

Much has been said about the influence exercised by Arabic philosophers on the Christian thinkers of the Middle Ages. Two writers equally competent on this subject, one a historian of the philosophy of the Middle Ages, the other an arabist and historian of Arabic philosophy, have now come forward. Appearing to be of sufficient interest to readers of this *Review*, we here give a sketch of their investigations.

The work of F. Picavet,† of which we shall give here but a very short summary, as we intend entering on it more fully in another issue, is full of facts. It is well printed, and fills nearly 400 pp. of octavo size. The perusal of this masterly work teaches much, and is very suggestive. The volume is divided into forty chapters: (1) History of Philosophy in the History of Civilization; (2) Medieval Civilization; (3) Comparative History of Medieval Philosophies; (4) Schools and References of the Philosophy and Theology of the Middle Ages; (5) Real Masters of Medieval Philosophers; (6) The Regeneration of Philosophy with Alcuin and Jean Scott Erigène; (7) Comparative History of the Philosophy from the Eighth to the Thirteenth Century; (8) Rationality and Science in Medieval Philosophy; (9) Restoration in the Nineteenth Century; (10) Taught and Written History of Medieval Philosophy. In the rich material brought together by the author in these ten chapters there is much concerning Arabic philosophers and the influence they exercised on the philosophy and theology of the Middle Ages. But we merely wish to set forth here the original and chief thesis upheld by the author.

Medieval philosophy, according to F. Picavet, is closely associated with

\* "La nationalité Musulmane et l'édit de 1778 (Affaire Abd-el-Hakim contre le Ministre des Affaires étrangères)," vol. i. Paris, 1904.

† F. Picavet, "Esquisse d'une histoire générale et comparée des philosophies médiévales." Paris: F. Alcan, 1905.

religion, the object of which is to unite man to God; they derive, therefore, practical ideas and methods, from the same source, the science and philosophy of Greece, occasionally adapted to Romish tendencies. They thus form, at first sight, a mixture of theological, philosophical, and scientific ideas. The theologic-philosophical conception, which makes of union with God the central preoccupation of human knowledge, predominated from the first century of the Christian era.

It is Plotin who, from a theological and mystical point of view, first gives the synthesis, definitive in its grand lines, of the elements isolated or already assembled by the ancients. It is Plotin, therefore, who is the real master of the philosophers of the Middle Ages, orthodox or heterodox. The author thus comes to formulate this chief thesis: *Plotin is the real master of medieval philosophers, Christians, Jews, and Musulmans.* This very original thesis deserves to be the subject of a special paper, which, as it concerns Arabic philosophy, I hope to be able to lay before the readers of this *Review*.

The pamphlet of M. Asin\* on the theological Averroism of St. Thomas d'Aquin is not less interesting than the big volume of F. Picavet. In this pamphlet, well put together and very clear, the author studies the analogy of reason and faith according to St. Thomas, and afterwards according to Averroes. He shows that the compared reading of the texts suggests, above all, the idea of a complete analogy and real parallelism in the attitude of the two thinkers to formulate and decide the problem of faith in its connection with science. Both this analogy and parallelism arise from imitation. St. Thomas has imitated the Musulman thinker. The author explains the other theological imitations of Averroes made by St. Thomas, and in a last chapter shows the probable way in which these imitations have been made. It is in the *Tehâfot* and the *Quitab falsafa* of Averroes that St. Thomas has, above all, drawn his imitations of Arabic philosophy, and these Arabic works St. Thomas ought to have known by the *Pugio fidei adversus Mauros et Judæos* of Raymond Martin. Is not this thesis of Averroes, in the main, a thesis of St. Thomas? "All truths cannot be known through rational research. There are truths of a supernatural order which are called mysteries, of which reason can understand the existence of, not the essence, on adding belief to the infallible testimony of God, revealed to man through the prophets. Grounds of credibility: the divine mission of Muhammad founded on the miracle of the Kurân, on prophecy, and the dogmatic superiority and moral of his religion." Replace in this quotation of *Tehâfot* the names of Muhammad and the Kurân by those of Jesus and the Bible, and you have a Christian thesis. M. Asin has put as an appendix to his very interesting publication the Arabic text and Latin translation according to the version of Raymond Martin, of the *Epistola ad amicum* of Averroes. We here call to mind another interesting work of M. Asin on the psychology of belief according to Ghazâlî,† a work which

\* Miguel Asin y Palacios, "El Averroismo teológico de Sto Tomás de Aquino" (Extracto del homenaje a D. Francisco Codera, en su jubilación del profesorado). Zaragoza: M. Escar, 1904.

† "La psicología de la creencia segun Algazel (Revista de Aragón)." Zaragoza, 1902.

has appeared before. It is connected with the same kind of philosophical religious studies.

Musulman theology and philosophy commenced to be the subject of theses (printed dissertations for the purpose of obtaining the title of Bachelor in Theology) in our Faculties of Theology in Switzerland and France. This is, I venture to believe, the result of the development I gave at the University of Geneva to Arabic and Kuranic studies. Two of my pupils have published their theses on these subjects: "*Étude sur l'Islamisme*," by J. Lheureux,\* and "*Exposé de l'Eschatologie Musulmane d'après le Coran et la Tradition*," a student's good work, by C. Schmidt.†

Amongst the publications relating to Morocco, I may mention the continuation of the study by A. Mouliéras on the Zkara, "*An Anti-Musulman Zenete Tribe of Morocco*."‡ We mentioned the first part of this important memoir in our Report for October, 1904. The new work of Mouliéras is full of interesting facts, and a special notice of the Zkara will be made in a future Report.

An important notice on Morocco has appeared recently in the summary of the publications of the *École des Lettres d'Alger*. I refer to the book by A. Cour on "*L'Établissement des dynasties des Chérifs au Maroc et leur rivalité avec les Turcs de la Régence d'Alger*."§ The author is a complete master of his subject, and has discussed it with ability. His object has been to study the relations of the Sultans of Morocco with the Turks of Algeria. This work has entailed long studies by the author, and especially as regards the establishment of the Saadian Sherifs, and still more the Alid Sherifs, the documents consulted coming almost entirely from indigenous sources. This establishment, up to the present, has been little known.

The work of Mr. Cour begins with a very long analytical bibliography of the matter. In the introduction the author speaks of Barbary before the Saadian Sherifs and the Turks, followed in two tables by the genealogy of the principal groups of the Sherifs of Morocco. The author has been well inspired in drawing up these genealogical tables, as whoever has handled this study can testify to its difficulties. As regards the body, likewise, of the work, which is divided into twelve chapters, it is impossible for us here to give a summary, so rich is the material and so complex are the contents. We will be satisfied by explaining its general ideas.

The elevation of the Saadian Sherifs to the throne of Morocco coincides nearly with the creation of the Regency of Algeria by Khair-ed-din, the brother of 'Aruj. The author shows that these two states arose as a result of the same general causes—that is to say, the religious and political reactionary movement of the end of the fifteenth century, Christian enterprise in the Spanish Peninsula against North Africa. The wars of the Portuguese and Spaniards in Morocco excited the fanaticism of the

\* Geneva : Société Générale d'Imprimerie, 1904.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Bulletin Trimestriel de Géographie et d'Archéologie*. Oran, July-September, 1904.

§ Paris : E. Leroux, 1904.

Berbers and Arabs, and provoked in the Maghreb a revolution which was directed by the religious confraternities. In this revolution all the dynasties of the Maghreb disappeared, and were replaced by new powers, established with the influence of the confraternities or the Marabouts. We recommend to our readers who are interested in the destiny of Morocco the perusal of Mr. Cour's book; the History of the Struggles and Rivalries of the Sherifs of Morocco and the Turks of Algeria, written in a charming manner and filled with notes.

Before closing I beg to announce the publication of a short introduction to the account of my "Voyage au Maroc," which appeared in the *Tour du Monde* in 1903.\*

\* E. Montet, "Voyage au Maroc, 1900-1901" (introduction). Geneva: Eggimann, 1905.

## JAPANESE MONOGRAPHS.

BY CHARLOTTE M. SALWEY, M.J.S.

## No. XL.—SYMBOLISM IN GLYPHTIC ART.

It cannot be disputed that the art of carving, either in wood, stone, or metal, was in ancient times carried out in a most successful manner. Idols, images, sepulchres, temples, and buildings, reared for special objects were often of huge dimensions. This fact is all the more remarkable when we consider how slight were the means of placing weighty stones, heavy beams, and other materials, for which purpose no mechanical appliances could be brought into requisition that would bear any comparison to the steam power and electric force of modern days. To impress this fact upon our minds we have only to look round our great national repositories and view the gigantic specimens of glyptic art wrought out in stone and other substances. Many of these early pieces from Eastern countries were the work of slaves, who toiled under the lash of the whip, and during seasons of tropical heat.

Perhaps some of the most wonderful images and finished sculptures were those undertaken previous to the birth of the Saviour—at any rate, they appeal most forcibly to our admiration, for, by reason of Egypt's splendid atmosphere, many triumphs of this art still exist for the instruction and investigation of the present inhabitants of the globe. The hands that shaped them have long since fallen into dust, their labours alone survive; they have never been excelled, even if equalled.

The history of Japan only dates back 660 B.C., and there is very little beyond tradition to help us to determine the origin of many of its arts which have since the sixteenth century of our era reached such a pitch of perfection, and



of these arts a few only are credited with being purely the fruit of native invention.

In all Eastern countries carving was first dedicated either to religious service, to hero worship, or to the veneration of the dead.

There lies within the vast dominion of the Buddha-loving races who people the Far East a subtle brotherhood which binds them irrevocably together. Although this tie has not taken the form of an open avowal of alliance or friendship, its root is sure and strong, and may some day in the future, not very far distant, declare itself in a manner that will astonish the world! Asiatics have always freely borrowed ideals from each other—the younger from the elder, neighbours from one another—and have accepted their ideals, if not in the spirit of friendship, at least in the spirit of admiration and growing interest.

The earliest symbolic specimens of wood-carving known to exist in Japan bear the date of the seventh century. They are of Korean model, and are said to have been made by a Korean sculptor. In the temple at Nara two colossal idols may be seen. They are known to antiquarians as the Ni Ō, or Guardian Kings. These are of ferocious mien and relentless expression, giving evidence that the first tenets of a florid faith embodied an avenging element—punishment of the faint-hearted, destruction of the pervert, and justice without forbearance to be meted out to the unconverted. Within the first modelling of these fearsome idols is embodied supernatural power, over which no mortal might surmount; but nearly all temples have guardian idols, whose personality is the embodiment of certain symbolic suggestion. The two fierce dogs or lions that typify the male and female elements, guard many a place of worship, and are also found as part of the decorative carving of the celebrated tombs of the Shōguns of the seventeenth century. Inari, the fox god, is constantly met with in the province of Hondo.

Inari represents to the people riches in plenty, rice being

the staple food of the country. Inari also represents other blessings : he is a healer of the sick, and answers the petitions of those who come to him in distress. But there are foxes who portend evil as well as good.

The art of wood-carving in Japan gradually expanded, assisted by those models which found their way into the country through the immigration of skilful Korean prisoners of war, brought over by the Empress Jingu Kōgō, and the Buddhist priests who found converts of the new faith among the Japanese people. Not only within the temples, but as guardians at the portals, some of the most representative work was placed ; and although in some instances the sculptor's name has been lost to posterity, the work has remained. In it is invested true artistic feeling, expressed in passions common to man, and passions attributed to the supernatural. These attributes endow the work of past ages with a merit and value beyond dispute.

When Buddhism found a footing in Japan and the new faith numbered many followers, this art became a medium through which open manifestations of piety were realized. By a decree in the seventeenth century, the Shōgun Hidetada commanded that every house should contain a statue of Buddha. This wholesale demand for carved images did not, however, aid the perfecting of the art, for the necessary skill could not be given to such an excess of patronage, and these later pieces of carving were devoid of the careful labour that had hitherto been productive of such grand results. The Deva Kings, the Sun and Moon Devas, and other sculptures in wood that were undertaken from the seventh to the twelfth century and onward, were marked with a decided show of mastery on the part of the exponents of the glyptic art.

Still the work went on, for the hierarchy of gods and goddesses numbered many hundreds, each being selected in turn for the household shrines—Jizō, the tender guardian of the souls of dead children ; Emma O, the God of Death ;

Kwannon, the Merciful; Uzumé, the Goddess of Laughter; and a host of others too numerous to mention. The seven gods of good luck, or the seven patrons of happiness, being, perhaps, those with whom we become best acquainted with in the legends and traditions of the land, may here be described, with their several symbolic objects by which they can be identified. Daikoku is usually accompanied with bales of rice, as well as with a curiously-shaped hammer, which typifies his traditional merit as the god of wealth. His hammer is to remind humanity that it is by hard work alone that riches are attained. Fukurokujin, the God of Learning and Wisdom, is always represented by a preternaturally long head; sometimes when the carver's fancy revels in caricature, a boy with a fan may be found mounting on a stool behind this learned old god, and brushing away the flies as they settle upon his tall cranium. Ebisu, the patron of honest seafaring folks, is known by the emblem of a *tai* fish which he usually carries under his left arm. Bishamon, impersonating the God of War, wears for his symbols armour of the old type, and is usually provided with a deadly spear and a small pagoda. Hotei is the opposition patron of Bishamon, impersonating contentment, peace, and happiness for all. In the glyptic art, worked out in wood, ivory, or metals, the symbols by which this god is known are numerous. He is equally the friend of all who cross his pathway: he carries a bag full of treasures for distribution, and the emblem of life—a fan—to remind the children to remain obedient all their days to their good and loving parents. Jurojin is usually accompanied with a stag and a crane. He is sometimes known by the name of Toshitoku; he is very dignified and very grave; he supports the theory of Fukurokujin, and encourages by his presence the application to study. He is the patron of school-boys, and among some of the symbols by which the carvers represent this god in art is a staff of bamboo, at the top of which a book or a roll of manuscript is appended. He is known by his dignified bearing and by his dress, which is

that of a doctor, with high shoes and a square cap and stole. The seventh or last of this happy community is a woman, Benten, the Goddess of Love, and of Family Happiness, and Goddess of the Sea. Her emblems are musical instruments. She is supposed to dwell in ocean caves, to amuse guests at feasts and dances, or even to take part herself in the latter as well, cheering everyone present with sweet strains of harmony from her well-tuned lute and samisen. She is accompanied usually with a snake or a dragon, as well as other emblems.

One of the favourite subjects of carving, which does not refer to the gods or goddesses, is that of a woodman and his little son, who, having found the fountain of life, known in the Land of Romance as the "Waterfall of Yorō," repaired hither daily in order to fill his gourd with the precious elixir, to lengthen the span of his dear old father's life.

The tortoise, emblem of length of days, the cray-fish, a branch of pine, rats, mushrooms, animals, flowers, and birds, all of which bear allegorical significance, were chosen and favoured by special artists for reproduction.

Japan is a land of symbolism—symbolism that always bears upon religious teaching. Therefore it matters little what object is under treatment, so long as in its form can be embodied some beautiful religious inspiration, like the lamp burning within the alabaster vase. And this feeling is not sufficiently expressed within the object itself, the setting must carry out the theme; therefore, houses or temples, cemeteries or places of solitude, can never be considered complete without being in perfect harmony with surroundings. For instance, the Japanese do not build villages, houses, or temples, and then, if seemingly in the way, lop trees and uproot plantations. They select sites with the greatest judgment, and model their handiwork accordingly. Nature and Art must go hand in hand—the one must sympathize with the other, and hold, as it were, sweet converse together. This is one of the secret charms of a Japanese landscape—this is why all that was formerly

set up by the hand of man appealed so forcibly to the eyes of foreign artists. The grand forestry of Japan has been the crown of its glory. The temples, the wayside shrines, the simple roadside shelters of its patron deities, have all been made beautiful by the suitability of their surroundings. The living picture is not complete without this consideration and friendship between Nature and Art.

The earliest efforts of all Shinto art workmen were marked by extreme simplicity of design, and as Egypt tells us this story in the perfect yet simple profiles of her Pyramids, so Japan repeats the ideals in the upright *tori-i* or gateways that initial the entrance of most temple enclosures.

These *tori-i*, which are scattered all over Japan, are seen from a great distance. They are of Shinto origin, though the form is not unknown in India. The word *tori-i* signifies "bird rest" or roost. They are placed so that when the sun sinks it may appear to find a resting-place upon the horizontal bar, and there momentarily repose. This gateway is emblematic of rest, peace, and the end of life.

The architecture of a Shinto temple owes its origin to the simple primæval hut; only the temple consists of many huts placed close together, whereas the hut used as a dwelling by the early inhabitants was quite a small structure, standing alone in a plot of ground, many as near together as they could be conveniently arranged. The temple of Isé, which contains relics of great price belonging to the Land of the Gods, is a good example of a temple dedicated to the ancient religious worship of ancestors.

Temples signify in a manner the home of the people, representing the want of the community. Speaking of this, it may be mentioned that the Japanese do not use the word "home" in an individual sense. They regard the whole country as the home of every one of the people, individually as well as collectively.

Shinto temples are of plain, unvarnished wood, for the architects seek more by shaping the rafters and by the

distribution of the beams to emphasize any symbolic teaching they wish to convey; while, on the other hand, the builders of Buddhist temples strive otherwise. Buddhist temples are full of imagery and mystery to the uninitiated: the carved idols, the quaint deities, the sacred flowers, the fabulous animals, the curious designs, the religious emblems—each contains a wordless sermon for moral reflection, and these buildings are embosomed in the stately growth of coniferæ. Flowers and special twining plants are alone suffered to surround these places of worship, that have been set apart from time immemorial for religious service.

The cemeteries of Japan likewise abound in specimens of glyptic art. Wooden monuments are more commonly used than stone, for many reasons, chiefly perhaps, because they are easier and less costly to obtain.

In the Buddhist burial-grounds the eye is arrested by a vast crowd of upright laths of wood, bearing upon their outer edges five notches, which constitute the mystic number of elements without which mankind could not exist. These laths are called *sotoba*, and have to be planted by relatives upon the graves of the deceased at intervals varying from one to thirty days, and onwards at greater intervals. This loving service of remembrance may continue to be kept up for the space of one hundred years.

But the stone monuments are more elaborate than the wooden laths. They vary in shape, or rather in a number of selected shapes, ranging from five to seven. These consist, firstly, of a square base as a pedestal, a cube supported by a sphere, a pyramid supplemented by a cup, with four crescent ridges and tilted corners; within the cup a pyriform body, with the points turned upwards. These typify earth, fire, water, wind, and ether, the five elements essential to life.

But Nature's loveliest form to the dwellers of the Land of Sunrise is not her luxuriant foliage, her foaming water-

courses, her rugged rocks, her fields of budding, blossoming iris—these, truly, are all beloved, for the Japanese are, and ever have been, Nature as well as spirit worshippers; but the most gladdening, awe-inspiring form is the simple angle of Fuji San, the Peerless Mountain, the gift of the gods in a single night—the peace-offering after a storm unequalled within the memory of man. The calm, beatified guardian of many provinces, the cone of beauty beyond compare, Fuji San is chosen by artists as the embodiment of absolute loveliness. Its image and the unique angles of its sloping shoulders have been memorialized in countless reproductions, since its form has become the attractive pattern for those endless varieties of fans for which Japan is famous. As a model it is chosen by architects for their conceptions of temple gateways and temple roofs, for the pagoda of many stories, for the shelter of the peasant, for the palace covering the divine rulers, for the protection of the wayside shrine, for the *asa-miya*, or resting-place, within the garden enclosure. Its perfect curves are imitated by the potter for those archaic little cups, used alike for the services of the dead or for drinking-vessels during the ancient ceremony of *Cha-no-yu*, that wonderful ceremony which has influenced for many centuries the character and mind of the people.

It is true the glyptic art of Japan cannot compete with the grand masterpieces of Egypt, with the winged bulls of Assyria, with those glorious sculptured representations of Rameses and other Kings who flourished during the zenith of ancient rule. It cannot touch the beauty of the Elgin Marbles, or the living Greek statuary that has found an appropriate reception within the silent courts of the Ashmolean Museum. These are all unique in the world of art, and remain to prove the consummate skill of man in past ages. But who can resist admiring the Buddha Beautiful of Kamakura—sublime, impassive, majestic—that has braved the storms of centuries, and the tempestuous waves of human passion and vacillation? Who can see that

grand conception of an ideal Master without being deeply impressed with its irresistible attractions?

This colossal image is of bronze. It is shaped and welded together in separate plates, and finished off by the hands of the clever carver. It is nearly 61 feet in height, and so beautifully modelled it may justly be considered one of the wonders of the world. Nearer home we can study the great Eagle, supposed to be the work of one of the most celebrated armourers of Japan. This can be seen and studied in the courts of the South Kensington Museum. This model of the king of birds is fashioned in the finest metals. The wings are splendidly carved—they are outspread—and the feathers are beautifully chiselled. It is lifelike in the extreme, the embodiment of regal power, truly a work of inspiration, by Miochīn Munehara, whose power as a worker in metal has become an established tradition of the land, and whose fame is accepted among the art-loving centres of the world.

Had it not been for art, should we have wooed Japan in the persistent way we did at the commencement of its disclosure, of the unveiling of its beautiful face, radiant in all its newly-discovered charms?

After all, it is the small things that shape our destiny. The grand triumphs cannot come to us, neither can we all seek them for ourselves. It was by the small treasures that Japan became known to us and to the world: by the gems of ivory that were manifested in creations of the smallest dimensions—the *okimino* and the *netsuké*, the sword ornaments and the *kanemono*; by the pieces of pottery, so small in comparison to our own; by the fans of every shape and substance, by little boxes and toys, trays and teapots, that appeared, and appealed to us as things new and individual. These little objects charmed us, and they all assisted to form the bonds of that friendship which has finally ripened into a regal alliance.

Art was in its zenith during the sixteenth century and onwards, when the long-protracted struggles were ended



and the people were willing to accept the new and trusted rule of a military umpire—a lover of peace, who held his own, and yet kept before the eyes of a loyal people a spiritual head to be revered and adored by a nation of true patriots and ancestral worshippers. Heading a long list of Shōguns, Iyeyasu and Iyemetsu both sought to keep the people occupied and happy. Many refined pastimes and amusements were instituted and encouraged that in time became of historical value. Nobles and samurai participating in these ceremonials, beautiful art objects were found necessary for their use during the tea ceremony and the incense parties, games of archery and polo, as well as for the classic performance of the Nō drama; all of which gave an impetus to the call for hand-made objects of unique and artistic merit. For the standing armies, or retainers of the feudal Princes ornamental sword furniture came into vogue, since during the civil wars arms and armour had been but clumsily put together, to meet the large and immediate demands of the combatants. All these requirements were made of double service, and symbolism predominated. The sword furniture was made a medium to convey sentiments of the highest virtues. Humanity, justice, craft, loyalty, perseverance, and unselfish devotion to the cause—these and a hundred other noble traits were constantly exemplified in devices set before the eyes of the soldiers and the youthful population in general, and these lessons have all assisted to lay the foundation of the heroic traits of disposition for which to-day the Japanese army and navy have won enduring laurels and world-wide admiration. How dear was that term of peace instigated by the immortal Shōgun Iyeyasu, after all the savagery, oppression, and fierce disputes of long duration, when the castle was no longer the rich man's fortress, and when cunning and treachery were perpetrated without redress!

The early Shōguns were the greatest patrons of art; for this cause it is little wonder that where these mighty dead repose there should be centred the most perfect work that

hands could offer. It is no wonder that Princes as well as artisans should have contributed to make the enclosure set apart to their memory one of the most beautiful sights of Japan. "See Nikko and die" is a proverbial expression, for there, amid lofty avenues of cryptomeria and majestic growth of trees, the temples and buildings contain some of the most impressive efforts and the most priceless votive offerings, triumphs of art, that inspire alike the sons of the soil who appreciate all that is beautiful and true, satisfying at the same time the eyes and heart of the restless traveller. There is hardly a space of this historic compound upon which the masterpieces of dead artists are not evident.

Lacquer, carving, metal-work, all commingle in one supreme effort of completeness. One court opens into another, only to reveal greater treasures. Tall *tōro* or lanterns in stone and bronze remind us of the riches of feudal Princes, of their endeavours to outvie each other in their votive offerings of great worth. Red lacquer, priceless "black lustre lacquer," gateways of wonderful architecture, rich in carving and surroundings of splendour, all enhancing, as it were, the simplicity of the tomb, that stands alone guarding the earthly remains of a master man. The whole place is a triumph of symbolism; wherever the eye turns it is confronted with lessons to be learnt and remembered. Over the stables are carved the *Three Exemplary Monkeys*—blind, deaf, and dumb to the faults of others.

There, in the cool gray light of the outer stillness, veiled by the soft shadows flung over all by surrounding ancient forestry, repeating his Sutra and telling his rosary of sacred beads, many an aged priest will wander in robes of rich brocade, in keeping with the surroundings, lost for awhile amid the richly-lacquered columns, then crouching in an attitude of prayer amid the masterpieces of the past, dedicated to the service of the dead, knowing but little of the striving world beyond his own limits, smiling his constant smile of welcome to the strange faces that peer into the stillness and intrude upon his religious reveries.

## THE CONQUEST OF ABYSSINIA.

BY FREDERICK A. EDWARDS, F.R.G.S.

ABYSSINIA is a country with a remarkable history. For something like 3,000 years it claims to have preserved its independence from a foreign yoke, and to have on its throne a lineal descendant of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. In this proud boast it is only equalled by Japan, the ruler of which claims that his dynasty has occupied the throne "from time immemorial." In the three millenniums which separate King Solomon from our own day we have no record of any foreign conquest of the African Switzerland, except the very temporary occupation by the horde of Mussulman fanatics under the great conqueror whose exploits have been handed down to us under the name of Mohammed Gran or Granye—Mohammed "the left-handed." This event occurred in the fourth decade of the sixteenth century, just after Abyssinia had been discovered and made known to Europe by the Portuguese, then in the zenith of their colonizing power. Urged on by Prince Henry "the Navigator," the Portuguese voyagers sought long for the land of "Prester John," the semi-mythical Eastern potentate who had kept alive the torch of Christianity when all else had been submerged by the rising tide of Mohammedanism. "Encompassed on all sides by the enemies of their religion," as Gibbon tells us, "the Æthiopians slept near 1,000 years, forgetful of the world, by whom they were forgotten. . . . In this lonely situation the Æthiopians had almost relapsed into the savage life. Their vessels, which had traded to Ceylon, scarcely presumed to navigate the rivers of Africa; the ruins of Axume were deserted; the nation was scattered in villages; and the Emperor—a pompous name—was content, both in peace and war, with the immovable (*sic*) residence of a camp."

The Mohammedan conquerors had carried their victorious arms right along the north of Africa and southwards along the shores of the Indian Ocean to Zanzibar and Sofala; but the mountain fortresses of Abyssinia had proved an insurmountable barrier, which had stood high and dry, as it were, above the waves of conquest. Continued isolation led to inevitable decay, and whilst the power of the Abyssinian kings dwindled, the Arabs and Mussulmans not only benefited from their constant practice of the arts of war, but were enabled to take advantage of the scientific improvements in warlike weapons, and especially of the introduction of firearms. It was in 1520 that the Portuguese embassy under Don Rodrigo de Lima arrived at the Court of the King of Abyssinia, who was at that time encamped in his southern province of Shoa, engaged even then with troubles with the Mussulman State of Adel, as the low-lying country extending to the Gulf of Aden was then called. Thirty years before this Abyssinia had been reached by another Portuguese, Pedro de Covilham, who had been sent by King John II. to discover "Prester John"; but once arrived in that country, Covilham was not allowed to leave it again. No doubt it was his influence that led the Dowager Queen Helena to send an Armenian emissary to Portugal to negotiate an alliance, and it was in reply to this mission that Don Rodrigo de Lima was sent. The history of this expedition by Francisco Alvarez, who accompanied it, gives us our first modern account of Abyssinia.

The narrative of Alvarez, which has been published by the Hakluyt Society, gives us much detailed information as to the condition of the country, its King and people. Abyssinia at that time included those southern provinces in the direction of Lake Rudolf and of Harar, which have in recent years been conquered and again added to the empire by the present Negus, Menelik, whilst on the north the authority of the King extended as far as Suakin on the Red Sea. The King, or Negus, whom Alvarez persists in

calling "Prester John," though there is no reason to suppose that he was so known in his own country, had no permanent place of abode, but maintained his headquarters in Shoa, whence he could the more easily reach the outlying provinces. The Portuguese historian has, of course, much to tell us of the churches and monasteries, which were scattered about the country in great profusion. The land swarmed with monks and friars, and much of the wealth of the country was in their hands.

The momentous events of the invasion of Mohammed, or rather Ahmed, Granye, have been cursorily related by the traveller James Bruce in a brief two or three pages on information which he obtained from the Ethiopian chronicles. This account, though correct in its main outline, is evidently very inaccurate as to details, and especially in its chronology. The Portuguese writers were so much concerned with the religious interests of the country and their desire to bring it under the domination of the Pope that they gave little attention to its material history, and only troubled themselves with this life-and-death struggle so far as it came into their purview. A full record of the greater part of the campaigns of Ahmed has, however, come down to us in the *Futuh el Habasha*, or "History of the Conquest of Abyssinia," by Shihab ad-Din, or Chihabed-Din Ahmed ben Abd el-Qader, surnamed "Arab Faqih." Arab Faqih accompanied Ahmed in his campaigns, and was a witness of much of what he narrates, or took it at first hand from the actors, so that his work is authoritative. He appears to have been the official historiographer of Granye, and his record is full and evidently reliable; and, in fact, so circumstantial that where it differs from Bruce and other writers, the weight of authority will undoubtedly be on the side of the Arab doctor. This work has not been translated into English. It has, however, been translated into Italian by Dr. Cesare Nerazzini (Rome, 1891), and into French by the late Antoine d'Abbadie and Dr. Philippe Paulitschke, and in

another version by M. René Basset.\* These three translations have been made from different manuscripts, and show considerable variations in fulness of detail and in minor points, and especially in the transliteration of proper names. In the latter respect, italic and roman letters are so intermingled in the one work, and accents and inverted commas so much used in the other, as to be very puzzling to any but students, and it will be needless to follow these refinements in the present article. The best and most readable translation would appear to be that of M. René Basset, which, though it bears on its title-page an earlier date, did not, as a matter of fact, appear until some years later than that of D'Abbadie and Paulitschke.

It is somewhat curious that neither translator gives a general survey of the events of the time leading up to Granye's invasion, or of its general bearing on the history of that part of the world. Nor do they give us much information about the manuscripts made use of. Dr. Paulitschke, in his introduction, gives some bibliographical information, from which we learn that Basset's translation was taken from a manuscript of the eighteenth century, and in a few pages draws attention to the condition of the country at the time of the invasion, and endeavours to reconcile the dates. Basset gives no general introduction, but his pages swarm with voluminous notes on the various personages and places mentioned. It would have been interesting if one or other had made a general examination of the extent of Ethiopian territory at that time, the wealth and general condition of the country, and the rise and growth of the Mohammedan power on the shores of the Indian Ocean. For this invasion was not an isolated

\* "*Histoire de la Conquête de l'Abyssinie [xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle]*," par Chihab-ed-Din Ahmed ben Abd el-Qader, surnommé Arab-Faqih. Traduction française et notes par René Basset. Paris, 1897.

"*Futuh el-Habacha : Des Conquêtes faites en Abyssinie au xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle*," par l'Imam Muḥammad Ahmad dit Gagne. Version française de la chronique arabe du Chahab ed-Din Ahmed, publication commencée par Antoine d'Abbadie, terminée par le Dr. Philippe Paulitschke. Paris, 1898.

event, and the doings of "the Attila of Eastern Africa" have an intimate relationship with preceding events in that region; for a long time previously the rising forces of Islam had tried their strength against the hated Christians of the interior, whom in their proselytizing zeal they desired to win to "the true faith."

About the year 1268 the legitimate line of Solomon was restored to the throne of Abyssinia, after a long period of usurpation, in the person of Icon Amlak, and the growing power of the Mohammedans seems to have exercised this monarch, and kept him in his southern province of Shoa. Bruce suggests that the shortness of the reigns of his immediate successors may have been due to wars with the State of Adel, which had seized on all the territory from Azab to Melinda, cutting off the Abyssinians entirely from the sea coast and from an opportunity of trading directly with India from the ports situated upon the ocean. The great Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, has preserved "a famous story of what occurred in the year of Christ 1288," only seven years before he dictated his famous book. He remarks that the Abyssinians were in daily war with the Soldan of Aden (= Sultan of Adel). The King of Abyssinia had declared his intention to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but, being dissuaded, he despatched a certain bishop, who travelled by land and by sea until he reached the holy sepulchre. On his return he fell into the hands of the Sultan of Adel, who called upon him to turn to the faith of Mohammed, and on his refusal ordered him to be circumcised. This done, he was allowed to return to Abyssinia. When the King heard of the outrage which had been done to the bishop, great was his wrath. He vowed that he would not wear crown or hold kingdom if he took not such condign vengeance on the Sultan that all the world should ring therewithal. He assembled his horse and foot and great numbers of elephants, and set out with his army. The Sultan prepared to meet him with a large force, but the Saracens could not stand against the Christians,

and were defeated, and a marvellous number of them slain. The King advanced into the territory of the Mussulmans, wasted and destroyed it, and returned to his own country in great triumph and rejoicing. "And, in sooth, 'twas a deed well done!" quaintly adds the Venetian traveller; "for it is not to be borne that the dogs of Saracens should lord it over good Christian people!"

It is unfortunate that Polo does not record the name of the Abyssinian King. The events bear some resemblance to the achievements of Amda Sion, as given by Bruce, though the latter says nothing of the story of the bishop; but Marco could not have related in 1295 events that did not occur till 1315-1316. Salt, in his version of the chronology, put the accession of Amda Sion eleven years earlier than Bruce, and even then had so little confidence in its accuracy, and was so much disposed to identify the histories, that he suggested that the dates should be carried back further still by some twenty years, on the authority of Marco Polo's narrative. Sir Henry Yule, however, supported Bruce's chronology, and suspected that Icon Amlak must have been the true hero of Marco's story. But why should it not have been Igba Sion, whose reign (following Bruce) lasted from 1283 to 1312? The dates of these Kings can hardly be said to be definitely settled, and it would have been of great assistance in fixing the chronology if Polo had given us the name of his "King of Abash." The kingdom or sultanate of Adel comprised all the tribes now called Danakil, and the capital of the Sultan was, according to Bruce, at Aussa, some distance inland from the port of Zeila, which also belonged to Adel.

The exploits of Amda Sion, who reigned from 1312 to 1342, are taken by Bruce from the Ethiopian chronicles. At this period there was in some of the southern provinces of Abyssinia, besides the Christian nobility, a considerable Mussulman population, which often had the preponderance, and whose fidelity varied according to the energy and power of the Negus. Some of these united against Amda Sion;



but this King proved himself an able and active commander, and defeated them and also the King of Adel, and even advanced as far as Zeila on the sea coast. The events of this war are narrated at considerable length by Bruce.

Saifa-Arad, the son and successor of Amda Sion (1342-1370), also had to struggle against the Mussulmans of Adel, whose King, Ali ben Sabr ed-din, was conquered and made prisoner; but subsequently two Abyssinian armies were beaten. David II. also made war, with success, against Adel. Saad ed-din, the Mussulman King, was conquered and taken prisoner, but, regaining liberty, he recommenced the war. The Abyssinian army this time was defeated; but the Christians soon gained the upper hand again, and Saad ed-din had to take refuge in Zeila, which was besieged and captured, and then fled to a small island near by, where he was killed, with all his soldiers. This happened in the year 805 of the Hegira (A.D. 1402-1403). For twenty years Islam remained under the blow of this disaster, which delivered Adel into the Ethiopian domination. In 1422, however, the Negus Yeshak, or Isaac, was defeated by El Mansur, son of Saad ed-din, and again later by El Mansur's successor, Djemal ed-din.

Djemal's successor, Chihab ed-din Badlai, the Aroué Badlai of the Ethiopian chronicles, recommenced the war, reconquered the country of Bali, and burnt six churches; but was defeated and killed by King Zara Yakob, who had his body cut to pieces and sent to different parts of the country (Ramadhan 849 = December, 1445). The next King of Abyssinia, Baeda Maryam (1467-1478), had a varying experience of war and peaceful negotiations with the Mussulmans. Mohammed, son of Badlai, sent ambassadors with presents to the Negus on the pretence of congratulating him on his accession, and made a treaty of peace. But the Mussulmans soon broke faith; Mohammed was defeated and killed, and an advance to chastise the men of Adel was only cut short by the death of Baeda Maryam.

A little later there arose in the country of Saad ed-din (as the territory of that ruler was still called), a leader who seems to have played the same rôle as Granye afterwards did in his relations with the King of Adel and in his wars with Abyssinia. This was the Imam Mahfuzh, called Mahfudi by Alvarez and Maffudi by Bruce. Being Governor of Zeila, he was able to obtain arms from the European merchants. Knowing the habit of the Abyssinians to fast strictly during the forty days of Lent, he chose this season to make his incursions and fall on the people enfeebled by fasting. During twenty-five years he carried his ravages into Fatagar, or Shoa, or Amhara, slaying without mercy all that made resistance, and driving off whole villages of men, women, and children, whom he sent into Arabia or India to be sold as slaves. The Negus Eskender (Alexander) repulsed him, but was unable to follow up his success. This state of affairs continued during the reign of the next King, Naod (1495-1508), though not always to the advantage of the Mussulmans, who at the same time were active in proselytism, and effected the conversion of some of the Abyssinian nobles, who would come over to their side with the whole of their people. This happened with Wanag Jan, Governor of Bali, who first assembled all his chiefs to the number of sixty, and, having made them drunk with wine, caused them to be bound, and then had their throats cut at the gate like so many sheep. He sent a message to the Sultan Mohammed to tell him what he had done, and converted all the men of Bali to Islam.

We now come to the reign of Wanag Sagad, or Lebna Dengel, known also as David III. (the "Prester John" of Alvarez), for the Abyssinian Kings followed the old Egyptian custom of adopting alternative royal names. He was only eleven years old when he succeeded to the throne in 1508, and during his minority the kingdom was governed by his grandmother, the Empress Helena, as Regent. Helena was of "Moorish" or Mohammedan origin, and

had therefore considerable influence with the King of Adel, with whom she maintained peace for some years, thus enabling Abyssinia to profit by the commerce with the outer world, which could only be carried on through the maritime regions in the hands of the Mohammedans. "Trade flourished and plenty followed it," Bruce tells us; "the merchants carried every species of goods to the most distant provinces in safety, equally to the advantage of Abyssinia and Adel. These advantages, so sensibly felt, were maintained by bribery and a constant circulation of Mahometan gold in the Court of Abyssinia; the kingdom, however, thus prospered."

But Mahfuzh still continued his depredations, and the young King, Wanag Sagad advanced at the head of his army to attack him. When he came face to face with the Mussulman army, Mahfuzh threw out a challenge to any in the Christian army to fight him in single combat. The challenge was taken up by a soldier-monk named Gabra Andryas, and Mahfuzh was slain. The Mussulmans were routed; the King of Adel fled with four companions, and only escaped, thanks to the treason of the men of Dawaro, who hid him. This event occurred in July, 1517, on the same day, it is said, as the destruction of Zeila by the Portuguese fleet under Suarez. Three or four years later Alvarez was shown bundles of short swords with silver hilts which had been taken in this war, and the Portuguese Ambassador received from the King a tent of brocade and Mecca velvet, also taken from the Sultan of Adel.

Eager as were the Mohammedans to attack the hated Christians, their great desire was to spread the faith of Islam, and in this respect they had made considerable inroads into the mountain recesses of Abyssinia. Arab Faqih does not give us any indication as to how far Mohammedanism had spread into the interior, but no doubt almost all the population of the Abyssinian provinces bordering on Harar professed the Mussulman religion, as well, for example, as those of Ifat, to the west of the

Hawash River. From Alvarez we learn that the "Moors" were very active as traders, and traversed the country from end to end, and he tells us of settlements of them in Amhara and Tigré, some of them of considerable numbers. The Dobas on the eastern escarpment of the Abyssinian plateau were Mohammedans, though subject to the Negus, and the difference of religion led to frequent wars. In the outcome we shall see that these colonies of an alien faith proved a great weakness to the country in withstanding the onslaughts of Granye. It was indeed a case of "a house divided against itself."

The incursions of Granye must have commenced almost immediately after the departure of the Portuguese embassy. Don Rodrigo de Lima bade farewell to the Negus in February, 1525, when the latter was at Aysa or Aussa in Adea, though he did not embark at Massowah till April, 1526. The presence of the King in that distant part of his dominions indicates troubled relations, if not open war, with his neighbours; and it would seem from Bruce's account that he took the initiative, for he says that soon after the death of the Empress Helena (in 1525) the King prepared to renew the war with the Moors, who, in retaliation for the Portuguese friendship for Abyssinia, had cut off the caravan for Jerusalem. "In revenge for this the King marched into Dawaro, and sent a body of troops from that province to see what was the state of the Mohammedan forces in Adel. These were no sooner arrived on the frontiers of that kingdom than they were met by a number of the enemy appointed to guard these confines, and, coming to blows, the Abyssinians defeated and drove them into the desert parts of their own country." But the succeeding sentence shows us that Bruce compresses into a single campaign events which extended over several years. Arab Faqih tells us that an Abyssinian noble, Fanil, of Dawaro, with many other chiefs, had invaded the Mussulman country of El Hubat, that they pillaged it, and led into captivity the women and children.

Ahmed on learning of this started with his soldiers, and came up with the Christians at the river Aqam. Fanil and his companions were protected by coats of mail, and wore on their heads casques of steel, which allowed only the corners of their eyes to be seen. After a lively combat the Christians were put to flight with a number of chiefs and "thousands" of soldiers killed, whilst the Mussulmans did not lose a single man. This event may have taken place as early as 1524.

This Ahmed is generally spoken of by Abyssinian travellers as "King of Adel," or "King of Zeila." To this title, however, he had no claim. He was a cavalier or knight, as we should say, in the service of Abun, the Garad or territorial chief of this region. His nickname of Gran, Graan, Gragne, or Goranha, as it is variously written, means "left-handed," for he held his sword in his left hand. Born about the year 1503, he rose against the Sultan Abu Bekr, who had "turned aside from the precepts of the book and of tradition," and, having killed him, made his brother Omar din Sultan, and found himself strong enough to be the real, though not the nominal, ruler of the country, Omar din appearing to be little more than a puppet. Ahmed, having risen to position and power, collected arms, spears, and horses, and prepared an expedition against Abyssinia. Dawaro was at that time a great southern province of Abyssinia, extending along the river Webi, which separated it from Bali. Into this province the Imam dashed with his eager followers, and captured considerable booty in horses, slaves and beasts of burden. He and his soldiers were about to return to their country, when the people of Dawaro assembled in mass against them. The Imam had a hundred and odd horses; the army of the Christians was innumerable, and the latter killed a great number of the Mussulmans, and took seven Emirs prisoner. The Imam got back to his country with considerable booty. From the time of Saad ed-din and those who governed Harar after him, Shihab goes on, even to the time of the Garad Abun,

the Christians had made incursions into the Mussulman countries, and had frequently ravaged them, and had compelled some of the Mussulman countries to pay tribute. This lasted till the Imam was at the head of affairs; he now forbad the payment of tribute.

Degalhan, Governor of Bali, a province between the two Webis south of Dawaro, having made a raid into the frontier provinces of the Mussulmans and taken their women prisoners, including the mother of one of the Emirs of the Imam, Ahmed marched against him with 100 horsemen, and came up with him at the river Aqam, at a place called Eddir. Though the Abyssinians numbered 600 and odd horsemen, and foot-soldiers as numerous as a flight of grasshoppers, he scattered them like a flock of sheep before a lion, killing many thousands of them, and taking 484 prisoners and a large quantity of cattle and mules, and the booty which had been captured by the Christians. None of the Mussulmans perished. The Ethiopian chronicle confirms this defeat of the Abyssinians in the country of Kabot (or Koubat ?) in the nineteenth year of Lebna Dengel; this would be 1527, not 1524, as supposed by Paulitschke.

The next expedition of the Imam Ahmed into Abyssinia was made with numerous troops and Somalis against Fatagar; they came within a day and a half's march of the King, but met with no opposition, and returned with considerable booty. Other raids under some of his Emirs met with similar success. The Imam then prepared another expedition against the territory of "the infidels," and at the head of a large army advanced against Dawaro, defeated a party of the enemy, and burnt the church of Zahraq. Then, turning to the Hawash River, he divided his troops into three bodies, crossed the river, and defeated a force of the Abyssinians, capturing among the women a cousin of the King, who was afterwards ransomed for fifty ounces of gold. A Christian church at Antukyah was burnt, and a raid into Ifat resulted in the capture of many slaves and

goods. Reaching the town of Gendebelo, which was inhabited by Mussulmans, who paid tribute to the King of Abyssinia, he was received with great honour and a gift of twenty ounces of gold, which, however, Ahmed refused to receive for himself, saying it should be used for the holy war. There were in the town merchants with riches belonging to the King: These the Imam killed, and carried off their goods. The booty taken on this expedition comprised 2,500 slaves, 5,000 head of cattle, and abundance of mules, and Ahmed returned victorious, triumphant and joyous to his town of Harar.

After a short sojourn here he organized another expedition. The King of Abyssinia, who was at Badeqe (perhaps Bulga, on the southern frontier of Shoa), on hearing of the approach of the Mussulmans, retired to Amhara to gather his forces from all parts of the country. In their confidence the Mussulmans advanced on Badeqe without order or precaution. The King had given orders that they should not be opposed until they had entered the town and set fire to the churches; but some of the nobles marched out, met the invaders at the Samarma River, and put them to flight, capturing a great number of horses. The Imam rallied his men, but they could not sustain the Abyssinian onslaught, and many deserted, till Ahmed was left with only forty horsemen and about twenty foot-soldiers. The Abyssinians did not follow the retreating Mussulmans, but decided to await the return of the King. He came with a large army, and, starting off after the Mussulmans, came up with them on the river Modju, at a place variously called Chembra-Kuré, Sombera Kuri, Sanbari Kuri, Shimbra-Core, at the commencement of the new moon of Redjeb, 935 (=the commencement of March, 1529), or three years later than the date given by Bruce. The King had with him 16,000 horsemen and over 200,000 foot-soldiers armed with shields, javelins and poisoned arrows. The Ethiopian chronicle agrees with the Arab author as to the disproportion between the Christians and the Mussul-

man army, which was no doubt diminished by desertions. "The King brought 30,000 horsemen and more; as to his shield-bearers, we could not know the number, for they were very numerous. Of the soldiers of this Mussulman the horsemen, it is said, were not more than 300, and a small number of foot-soldiers." According to Arab Faqih the cavalry of the Imam was 560 men, and the infantry 12,000, some armed with sabres, some with bows and arrows. As the Christians advanced, they were sheltered from the sun by a cloud, whilst the Mussulmans were exposed to the heat of the sun. But in response to the prayers of the Imam (we are told) the cloud passed from over the heads of the Christians to above the heads of the Mussulmans, and sheltered them. At this fear seized upon the Abyssinians. They, however, charged the Mussulmans, and the two armies were soon intermingled in the fray. The left wing of the Mussulmans in the terrible combat took to flight, pursued by the Abyssinians, who killed 3,000 of them. Their right wing was driven into the centre, where was the Imam. There the fight became desperate, till each could not recognise friends from foes. Then the Abyssinians were thrown back on those who followed them, and ultimately fled, thousands of them being killed, till the ground was covered with corpses. Many of their leaders fell on that disastrous day, some of whose names have been preserved by Arab Faqih; and more than 10,000 men of Tigré were killed. The Mussulman losses numbered 5,000, and after this dearly-purchased victory the Imam returned to Harar.

Within two or three months, however, he had again started on an expedition to Dawaro. He met no troops, but captured prisoners and booty, ravaged the country, and left it in ashes. Ras Banyat assembled his troops and opposed the Mussulmans in a narrow pass, but was induced to withdraw and pay a capitation on the promise of the Imam not to burn the churches. This did not, however, prevent the invaders from continuing their ravaging and



making prisoners. Radjih, or Radjib, another Abyssinian leader who had apostatized from Islam, when assured that he would not be punished for his former attacks on the Mussulmans, agreed to show the latter where the Abyssinians had hidden their riches; and for three days the Mussulmans were killing and taking prisoners and capturing booty.

It was the custom of the Imam to leave his camp from time to time with a few trusted followers to explore the country. In this way, with six horsemen and thirty foot-soldiers, he came up with Fanil, chief of Dawaro, but the latter declined a combat. A little later, however, he was put to flight with a loss of about a hundred of his men and the capture of some of his chiefs and a great quantity of horses and mules. Ras Banyat then came up with 600 horsemen and an innumerable crowd of foot-soldiers, and attacked the little Mussulman force (of 200 horse and 500 foot soldiers) with stones from a mountain, but was also put to flight with great loss. In each of these combats, we are told, none of the Mussulmans perished.

The Imam had conceived the project of staying in Abyssinia to conquer it. He sent into the Mussulman countries to exhort to the holy war, and invited them to join in it. But the soldiers replied: "Our fathers and our ancestors were not accustomed to establish themselves in Abyssinia; they made expeditions on the extremities of the territories of the infidels, took as booty cattle or other things, and returned to the Mussulman land. It is not our usage to remain and dwell here." They obliged the Imam to renounce his project, and he returned to Harar with such booty as had never been obtained before, whilst many of the Abyssinians had been induced to embrace Islam.

His next campaign was against the province of Bali, which was governed by Degalhan, brother-in-law of the King. Here the Mussulmans spread fire and sword, and captured Takla-Haimanot, Garad or Governor of Qaqmah, who was sent a prisoner to the Sultan of Aden. In this expedition the Mussulmans pushed on across the great river

Wanbat (which would appear to be the Webi Ganana, or upper course of the Juba) to the country of Malwa (probably the present Mala, on the east bank of the Omo), in the centre of Bali. This place was pillaged and reduced to ashes, the people being carried off to slavery.

After two months only in Harar, the Imam again started for Abyssinia, swearing that he would not return from the country of the infidels, but would conquer it or die there a martyr. He collected a force of 500 horse and 12,000 foot, armed with sabres; and was provided also with seven cannon, manned by about seventy Arabians accustomed to their use. When the King of Abyssinia learned of the arrival of the Mussulmans, he gave orders to dig a ditch at Del-Maida, above Dawaro, as a defence against them; but Ahmed learned from prisoners who had been captured of another road, and so circumvented the Abyssinian defences. When the Mussulmans had crossed the river Arah to Aifars, Degalhan, who had neither the force nor the energy to fight, begged the King to withdraw him. Eslamo, Governor of Fatagar, a brave warrior, was sent to supersede him. He took up his position at Antukyah, or Antakyah, with 6,000 horse and about 100,000 foot, but the Imam attacked him with his much smaller force. His cannon made havoc in the ranks of the Abyssinians, cutting them down one over the other, and the large army was put to flight. This defeat of the Abyssinians took place in the month of Redjeb, 937 A.H. (February or March, 1531). The following day the Mussulmans burnt the church of Antakyah, and then set off in pursuit of Eslamo, killing and taking prisoners and booty; never had there been so many Christians killed since the battle of Chembra-Kuré.

When the King of Abyssinia learned of this defeat, he sent the men of Tigré, under Takla-Iyasus, Governor of Angot, to march against the Mussulmans. They crossed the Hawash and joined Eslamo; but their plans were made known to Ahmed by renegade Abyssinians, and they were attacked and put to flight with the loss of Eslamo and many

other nobles killed and taken prisoner, whose names have been preserved by the Arab historian, whilst thousands of the horse and foot perished. The Mussulmans captured 500 horses, besides mules, slaves and other property. The Ethiopian chronicles mention this disastrous battle of Aifars. Bruce, who gives the name as Ifras, dates it three years too early, and says the King took part in it. The Imam now sent a letter to King Wanag-Sagad asking for the return of two captives taken by Fanil, in exchange for whom he would liberate four Abyssinian nobles, adding that this was not an incursion from which he would return to his own country, as in former expeditions, but that he would remain in the country which he had conquered. The King, on receipt of the letter, killed the two prisoners and sent no reply,

The Mussulmans continued to ravage Dawaro, capturing booty to right and left, and some of the chiefs and people were induced by fear to come over to Islam and pay tribute. The booty was so great that each man had 200 mules and slaves; but the Imam caused his followers to cast these all away, as with them they could not carry on the holy war. He then crossed the Hawash and burnt the church of El Marzir, at the foot of Mount Zeqalah, the King being made acquainted with his approach by the light from the burning church. The Mussulmans then marched to Andotnah (probably the modern Antoto, where are ancient ruins), and burnt the residence of the King, with its pictures, and images of lions, men and birds painted in red, yellow, green, white and other colours. The King saw the burning of his palace, and would have come up with the marauders but for the flooded Hawash. How this river could have separated him from the enemy is not clear, for he was then at Waj, in the Shoan bend of the Hawash, and was immediately after in Warabba, on the same side of the river. However, the identification of the places mentioned by Chihab ed-din is not, perhaps, definitely settled. The Mussulmans must have somehow got on the eastern or right bank of the Hawash. When the river had lowered, they crossed it,

captured some cannoni which had been abandoned by the Abyssinians, burnt a great church belonging to the Abuna, or patriarch, who was buried in a coffin in the middle of the church, and obtained much gold, silver and silk, until all, great and little, had become rich.

The King now fled in fear to the borders of Damot, a province which then appears to have extended to the sources of the Hawash. Wasan-Sagad came to him and reproached him, saying that what had been done by Granye was only on account of his tyranny and injustice towards his people. This was why God had given the Mussulmans the advantage over him, and why they had ravaged Dawaro, Fatagar, the royal town of Badeqe, and the territory of Berarah, and had burnt (the body of) the patriarch and his church. Then he exhorted the nobles to be men, and fight for their King, their religion, and their country. He wrote to the Imam that he had collected an army of the men of Guragué, Gafat, Damot, Enarya, Ez-Zeit and Djimma, and advised him to be satisfied with the booty he had taken, and return to his country. But the Imam returned an insolent message: he would not abandon the country he had conquered, but would possess the whole of Abyssinia. In Ramadhan, 937 (May, 1531), he marched against the King in Damot.

The entrance to the province of Damot was, through the narrow defile of Masar-Mechek, protected, in the fashion customary in southern Abyssinia, by one or more enceintes, pierced by gates carefully guarded. The Imam commanded that the gate should be widened, the stones broken, and the trees cut down till a wide road was opened for his army. This was done. The King retreated to an inaccessible mountain, to which there was only one road of access, called Djoradji. The Imam, however, managed to find another way hidden by trees and thorns, and, getting to the rear of the King, drove him from the mountain and from Damot, and captured two of his shums or governors. It was now autumn, when it was the custom of the

Abyssinians to remain four months in their houses, whilst rain fell night and day, transforming the soil into mud, and rendering travelling impracticable. The cold was so great that 300 of the Abyssinians died. At Gabargé in Wadj the King was joined by Wasan-Sagad, who accused the King's followers of cowardice in abandoning a country covered with inaccessible mountains, with narrow roads, and easily defended against the enemy. Their predecessors had never seen such infamy.

Meanwhile, the Mussulmans were fatigued, and their camels so exhausted by dragging their seven cannon that they had to abandon these, as well as the six cannon they had captured from the Abyssinians. They pushed on to Gabargé, however, the King again fleeing before them, and burnt the churches of Andagabtan and Daradbani in Shoa. The treasures captured included dishes of silver, images which resembled beasts and birds, each made of silver, a great quantity of fine cloths, and two curtains such that neither Persians nor Arabs knew the like; their value amounted to 100 ounces of gold. The inhabitants of Warabba and Shoa submitted to the capitation, and remained at peace in their homes. Being told of the celebrated and much-venerated church of Dabra Libanos, to which pilgrimages were made from distant parts, the Imam sent the Emir Abu Bekr Qatin there with 300 horsemen. On his arrival the monks fled, but some of them returned, saying that if he burnt their church he should burn them also; so they seated themselves in the midst, waiting for him to set fire to it. But others said to him that he would gain nothing by burning the church, and if he would renounce this project they would give him what he would in gold and silver and silk, and the men of the town would pay capitation. The Emir agreed to this course, and the people brought him two vestments, with plates of gold 150 ounces in weight, and plates of pure silver of the same weight. But whilst the monks thus negotiated with the Emir, another Mussulman went secretly to the church and set fire to it.

Seeing this, the monks emulated one another in throwing themselves into the fire, like moths against a lamp. This event took place on July 17, 1531 (Whiteway, in his edition of Castanhoso, 1902, gives the date as July 17, 1530). At Badeqé, too, the men of Berarah conducted the Imam's men to the treasures of the King, and they returned with gold and silver and silks.

It not being the custom of the King to march, then, whilst the rains were on, he placed under Wasan-Sagad a considerable army, composed of men of Dawaro, Gojam, Fatagar and Ifat, to go against the Mussulmans. In an engagement with the Imam, however, Wasan-Sagad was wounded and captured, and his followers fled. Some thirty other notables were also taken prisoner, and all, with Wasan-Sagad, were put to death. This victory insured to the Imam the command of the country which we now know as Shoa, and the greater part of the inhabitants professed Islam. Ahmed wished to sojourn in Fatagar until the waters of the Hawash had lowered enough for him to pass into Dawaro to convert the inhabitants there; but hearing that this would not be for two months, he decided to go to Dabra Berhan. (The church of Dabra Berhan, Sir W. Cornwallis Harris tells us, was destroyed by Gagne.) He gave to Chamsu the government of Ifat, and the men of that country became Mussulmans. There was a church there built by King Eskender, who had given to it objects of gold and silver. There was a great book of which the leaves were of gold, as well as the binding; it contained the Gospels, and required two strong men to carry it. Chamsu burnt the church and seized the riches, and brought them to the Imam, who marvelled at them. The Imam despatched fifty Emirs to different parts of the country to complete its subjugation, and conversions took place wholesale, 20,000 being converted, with their wives and children.

King Wanag Sagad, who was in the country of Wadj waiting the end of the rainy season, when he heard of the

death of Wasan-Sagad, decided to abandon to the Mussulmans the territory they had conquered, and retire to Amhara. This is a vast territory, abundant in resources, and surrounded by mountains, and reached by passes through the mountains ; every entrance to it was protected by guards, from the Abawí or Blue Nile to the province of Angot and Lake Haiq. Placing guards at the five entrances to the province, he took up his position on the amba or fortified mountain of Wasel. Ahmed soon followed him into Amhara, and, approaching Amba Wasel, saw the white tent of the King perched on the top of the mountain. To deceive the people of the country his men were dressed in Christians' clothes, and pretended to be Christians, so that they were not discovered till they were close to the foot of the mountain. The Abyssinians had been lulled by a false report that Degalhan had defeated the Mussulmans, and that they had retreated to Fatagar. With the Imam in the van were thirty horsemen and fifty foot-soldiers ; they put on their coats of mail and commenced the ascent of the mountain. They had got half-way up, when a drunken Mussulman set fire to a church at the foot of the mountain ; the Abyssinians saw this, and prepared themselves for battle, when the Mussulmans burst on them, shouting "God is great!" and charging with their lances. The Abyssinians fell back on the tent of the King, who came out, and mounted his horse with his guards, 400 in number. The rest of the army, bearing shields, formed a considerable mass. The Imam ordered his followers to charge, and they charged as one man, breaking into the midst of the Abyssinians. For an hour they fought together, and then the Abyssinians fled, followed by the Mussulmans, who killed many of them, till they took refuge on a high mountain called Hagua, abandoning their horses to the enemy, and climbing the mountain on hands and knees. The King escaped on foot, leaving his tent, with his throne and arms, to fall into the hands of the enemy, and, hiding himself in a tree from the pursuing Mussulmans,

continued his flight in the night. The pursuers stopped when the sun went down and the rain fell, and came back to the Abyssinian camp, where their companions had already lit fires (for it was very cold), and they soon loaded themselves with the gold, silver, horses, mules, silk and royal vestments in innumerable quantity, and took "thousands" of beautiful women and sons and daughters of noble families. The tent of the King was by the Imam's orders cut to pieces. This battle of Wasel took place on Wednesday, the 16th of Rebi I., 938 Heg. (October 28 1531). The Ethiopian chronicle says that the King established himself at Hagua, and was driven out on the 22nd of Tekemt (October 19). The King was now a helpless fugitive in his own country, and was never again in a position to offer a pitched battle to his enemies.

The cold was now so great that the water was frozen, and many of the Mussulmans perished. Coming to the district of Bet-Amhara, and seeing the royal church there, the Imam asked how many churches there were there. He was told a great number, among which were Makana Selasse, Atronsa Maryam, Dabra Nagadgad and Beta Samayat. That of Makana Selasse ("Dwelling of the Trinity") had been built by King Naod, father of King Wanag Sagad, who was occupied in the planning, construction and ornamentation in gold for thirteen years, leaving it unfinished at his death. Wanag Sagad gave his best care to completing the work of his father, who was buried in the church, which took him twenty-five years. The church was entirely covered with plates of gold, which shone like a burning fire; he also gave to it vases of gold and silver. It was 100 cubits wide, 100 cubits long, and 150 cubits high, and was all of gold, covered with incrustations, mosaics(?), pearls and coral. Atronsa Maryam ("Throne of Mary"), situated on the left bank of the Abai, was projected by King Zarea Yaqob; but he died before it was realized, and it was his son Baeda Maryam who carried it into effect. He made magnificent presents to this church,



endowing it liberally. Ahmed ordered all these churches to be burnt. He himself first went into that of Makana Selasse, and viewed it with admiration. Its roof and inner courts were covered with plates of gold, and garnished with golden statues. Giving leave to his men to take what they would, it was burnt. The church of Ganata Giyorgis, built by King Eskender, was also burnt.

Much more of the wealth of the King was discovered and appropriated by the Mussulmans, and the inhabitants of the country were induced to point out where the treasures were hidden; one even offered to guide the Imam to where the King lay hidden with fifteen horsemen, but the Mussulmans found that the King had fled across the Bashilo River into Begemeder. The princes of the royal family of Abyssinia were at this time confined on the Amba Geshe, an almost impregnable mountain fortress. This amba was attacked by the Garad Ahmuchuch, who found the guardians sleeping over their fires. Awaking, they drove the Mussulmans back with rocks and stones. Some reinforcements arriving, they attacked the Mussulmans, and, after several attempts, being more numerous, drove the latter off (14 Rebi II., 938 Heg.—November 25, 1531). The Garad Ahmuchuch was taken prisoner, presented chained to the King, and afterwards killed. The Abyssinians cut off the heads of the dead, and presented them with the horses to the King.

The Imam's army next started for Angot, and camped at Lake Haiq. The church of Dabra Azhir (probably Dabra Egziabher, "Convent of the Saviour"), which was resplendent with gold, and contained much treasure hidden in its recesses, was plundered and burnt. Bruce gives the date of the burning of this church as December 2, 1528. Returning to Lake Haiq, Ahmed sent a messenger to the inhabitants of the island in it, calling on them to submit, and to give up a prisoner who had been taken in a former expedition, when the Sultan Mohammed was routed at Del Maida thirteen years before. He had been instructed

by the monks, and knew the Gospel by heart, "but his heart remained attached to the faith." The messenger swam across the lake, but the islanders threw stones at him, and would not let him land; nor would they submit or deliver up the prisoner, but defied "the magician" who could climb mountains. But this was a lake—let him come to them if he could.

The Imam appealed to his Arabs, who with logs of wood and cords constructed in three days two great rafts and two small ones, to which were afterwards fastened inflated skins of cows. The Christians, seeing the raft, were struck with terror, and sent the prisoner to the Imam to offer their submission. They afterwards sent their patriarch, to whom Ahmed promised to spare the church on condition that they concealed nothing, and he sent men with the patriarch to bring all the riches. They brought back crucifixes of gold and silver, enough to make 100 loads; chandeliers of gold, with gold chains in innumerable quantity; books whose leaves and binding were of gold; innumerable golden "idols," large dishes of gold, and a great mass of cloths and silk. Three rafts, which had been constructed to carry 100 men each, were filled with gold and silver and silk. The rafts returned from the island a second and a third time filled with riches, and the Imam marvelled at the spoils, and forgot all the treasures he had seen before.

The Vizir Addolé, whom the Imam had left behind in Fatagar, had been subjugating Dawaro and Bali. The Imam now went to meet him at Dabra Berhan, and here, on January 10, 1532, the two armies came together in grand review. The horsemen of the Vizir were 3,000 clothed with armour, and 3,000 without armour; the soldiers armed with white shields were 20,000, and he had as many archers, etc. The cavalry of the Imam comprised 5,000 horsemen, clothed with brocades and coverlets of gold; their armour left nothing to be seen but their eyes; their casques were like mirrors. The quantity of booty divided was such that sales were only made in gold; when

one wished to buy anything he took a handful of gold, went to the market, and made his purchase ; weights were not required. The price of a mule rose to forty ounces of gold.

The emissaries of the Imam had been busy in the southern provinces : Ifat, Gedem and Chodjarah had embraced Islam ; the El Maya people had submitted to the Garad Chamun ; Abd en Naser, who had been given the government of the country of Hadya, had subjugated and imposed the capitation on Ganz and Kambat ; the Vizir Modjahid had reduced the country of Wadj and Gabargé, and had also conquered the country of Suf-Gamo and Bahr-Gamo, supposed to be in the neighbourhood of Lake Abbaya, near 6° north latitude. The Vizir Addolé had attacked Addaluh (or Adalih), Governor of Bali, between the two Webis, and defeated him near Zillah, with a loss of 100 nobles killed and 100 taken prisoner, and about 3,000 horsemen and foot-soldiers killed (July-August, 1532), after which all the inhabitants of Bali, great and small, had embraced Islam. Yakim, who had been sent to conquer the country of Warabba, towards the sources of the Hawash, had been welcomed by the Arabs and merchants and travellers from the Sudan, who had brought presents to him. Resistance, however, had been made by Aklil ; but he had been driven off with a loss of over 1,000, and the people had agreed to pay a tribute of gold, corn, honey and butter. Almost the only instance of non-success was the experience of the Imam himself at Lake Zuai. In this lake there were said to be three islands, on each of which were three churches, and here, it was reported, the King had deposited his holy arks and other valuables for safety. Doubtless inspired by his great haul at Lake Haiq, Ahmed hankered after the treasures on these islands. He gave orders that boats should be constructed to reach them ; but his men were not provided with the materials, and he had to give up the project. The remembrance of this abortive effort is still preserved in the country, and

these islands are said to be the only point in Abyssinia not ravaged by Granye.

After having conquered all the countries—Dawaro, Bali, Hadya, Ganz, Wadj, Warabba, Fatagar and Ifat, so that there only remained about a third of Abyssinia (the northern portion) to conquer, the Imam convoked the Emirs and chiefs, and after thanking God for enabling him to conquer the country, proposed that they should send for their wives and children and establish themselves in Abyssinia. Accordingly, letters were sent to the Sultan Omar din. Batia Del-Wanbara, the Imam's wife, and many of the wives of the Mussulmans came and met the Imam in the territory of Aifars.

The King of Abyssinia, who was in Angot, seems to have made another feeble effort to drive the Mussulmans from the country. He sent Ras Banyat into Warabba, but the inhabitants of the province rallied to the Mussulmans, and the Ras had to retreat without success. The season of rains having come to an end, the Imam was again on the offensive, eager for the conquest of the remaining northern provinces. Sending the Vizir Addolé to conquer Damot, where the Governor fled on his approach, he summoned the Emirs, who were scattered throughout the country, to join him at Dabra Berhan. Abyssinia was conquered, he said; there only remained Tigré, Begemeder and Gojam, and he proposed to march against these provinces. Proceeding first to Lake Haiq, he left there on the 14th of Ramadhan, 939 Hegira (April 9, 1533), and camped below Amba Wasel, where the Abyssinians were entrenched under a son of Degalhan. The Mussulmans climbed the mountain; the Abyssinians retreated to the summit, and wished to descend on the other side, but the Imam had posted the Emir Hosain there. Caught on both sides, they were taken prisoners to the number of 4,000, and made to accept Islam, as did their chief, who, however, succeeded in escaping four months after. Then the Imam proceeded to the Amba Geshen, on which the

royal princes were confined, and which had been ineffectually besieged by the Garad Ahmuchi two years before. This mountain could only be ascended by means of ladders. The Imam besieged it for two months (May-June, 1533); then the first entrenchment was taken, whilst rocks and stones were showered down upon the assailants from above. The following day the besieged abandoned their second fort, pursued by the Imam from the rising to the setting of the sun. The Imam had obtained from Zeila a great bronze cannon and two small iron cannon, served by Indians. Under cover of these the Imam encouraged his men to assault the fort, whilst he himself watched that no relief should come from the King. Half of his army, under Zaharbi Mohammed, advanced against the fortress; the defenders fired their cannon against the assailants. The fighting lasted the whole day; stones and rocks fell on the Mussulmans like hail, though, we are told, none of them was hit. At last, realizing that the place was not to be captured, the Imam ordered his men to give up the siege, and withdrew to Angot.

Having learnt that the Christians were assembled at Lalibala, where were the famous rock-cut churches, the Imam marched against that place. Though the way was a difficult one across a mountainous country, and rain fell continuously, he pressed on, travelling even by night. The cold was so intense that many of his men died on the way. At Lalibala he found the monks assembled round their church, ready to die in its defence. The Imam inspected the church, the like of which he had never seen. It was cut in the rock, as were the columns that supported it. There was not a piece of wood in all the construction save the "idols" and their shrines. The Imam called together the monks, and ordered them to collect and bring wood. They lighted a fire, and when the fire was hot Ahmed said to them: "Now let one of you and one of us enter," wishing to see what they would do, and to test them.

Their chief said : "Willingly, I will go in." But a woman who had adopted the religious life arose, and said : "It is he who expounds to us the Gospel ; shall he die, then, before my eyes ?" and threw herself into the fire. The Imam cried : "Drag her out !" They dragged her out, but part of her face was burnt. Then Ahmed burnt their shrines, broke their stone "idols," and appropriated all the gold plates and silk textures he could find.

The King and his followers seem not to have been very far off, for their effects, baggage and provisions, with the daughter of the King's sister, were found by Chamsu and a party of scouts on the banks of the river Harrar (or Arri, a tributary of the Takazze). The baggage and niece of the King were brought to the Imam, who took the young girl for his concubine. She bore him a son. Chamsu was attacked by the Abyssinians, but he offered battle and killed 3,000 of them ; the rest fled. Those who were taken prisoner afterwards had their heads cut off by the Imam's order. The King ordered Degalhan to occupy Mahkuah and the mountains which gave access to Tigré, that the Mussulmans should not be able to pass. The Imam advanced to Mahkuah, and went daily towards the mountains to reconnoitre. One day, whilst so engaged with six horsemen, he was attacked by some assailants who were hidden in the trees. The Mussulmans drove them off, but the Imam's cousin, Zaharbui Mohammed, was killed by a poisoned arrow. The next day the Imam started to avenge his cousin ; he advanced towards the mountain. The Abyssinians ranged their troops against him ; but the Mussulman footmen penetrated their ranks, receiving their stones on their shields, "and God put the infidels to flight." The Mussulmans went up and camped near the church of Manbara Maryam, on a mountain near Gargara. There the wife of the Imam, Batya Del-Wanbara, gave birth to a son. Qargara, which is now represented by the village of Gargara, south-east of Chelicot, is spoken of by Chihab ed-din as abundant in corn

and honey. In the siege of the mountain the Mussulmans had suffered from want ; now they were relieved. The Imam ravaged Endarta ; he killed the inhabitants and pillaged their riches. Then he went to Tamben. The Shum of this province marched against him, but was routed, with a loss of more than 3,000.

Raqat, Shum of Agamé, assembled his horsemen and his footmen, and barred the road to his country. The Imam left Tamben with his companions, and advanced against the mountain defended by the Shum. Stones and arrows fell on their shields like drops of rain. They pushed into the midst of the enemy, who took to flight, pursued by the Mussulman cavalry until they came to a precipitous mountain. Throwing himself over this, the Shum escaped with a broken arm.

The Imam then turned back to march against Aksum, the ancient capital of the Kings of Ethiopia. Learning from Mussulman inhabitants of the country that the men of Tigré were assembled, with their women, children and riches, on a mountain, he divided his army, and placing one body under Abd en Naser, with orders to climb one side of the mountain, he with the rest advanced to the other side, and reached it before the sun had risen. Thus, taken on both sides, the Abyssinians were routed, and those who were captured were, by the Imam's orders, beheaded. None escaped ; the Mussulmans killed them in the forts, in the ravines, in the woods. The ground was covered with their corpses, so that one could not walk on it. Of 10,550 not one escaped.

The King of Abyssinia was in Waggara, a mountainous province north of Gondar (Arab Faqih must have been misinformed in saying Wagada in Begamder), when he learnt that the Mussulmans had arrived in Tigré and were ravaging it. The Ethiopian chronicle informs us that he left Waggara in the month of Tahasas (December) for Aksum, where he celebrated the feast of Epiphany (January, 1534). This is no doubt what Arab Faqih refers to when

he writes of the King : "He brought out the great idol from the church of Aksum ; it was a white stone, encrusted with gold, so great that it could not go out by the door. They were obliged to make a hole in the wall of the church on account of its size ; it was raised and carried by 400 men into the fortress of the country of Siré, called Tabr, where they left it." This was no doubt the stone altar in the principal church of Aksum, that of St. Mary of Sion. This venerated stone was, according to tradition, sent from Mount Sion by the Apostles in the time of Queen Kandake, to whom legend attributed the construction of this church.

The Imam, on learning that the King was at Aksum, immediately started for that town, receiving the submission of parties of Abyssinians and exterminating resisters on the way. On reaching Aksum, he learnt that the King had left there six days before for the country of Mazaga (Ras el Fil or Gallabat). The Sultan of that country, Makatter, sent a letter to the Imam, saying : "Come to join me before the Christians kill me." Ahmed started the following day, burning on the way the church of Abba Samuel in Siré. It was a magnificent building, ornamented in all colours. The monks were assembled there to the number of 500. They were all massacred in the interior of the edifice, so that the blood ran out of the door. The Mussulmans marched day and night across the desert to Mazaga, suffering much from lack of provisions. Hunger drove some of them to feed on the fruits of the tamarind called *homar*, which they found in abundance. They came in touch with bodies of Abyssinians on the way, and when they reached Mazaga were received with rejoicing by Makatter. Ill though he was, he mounted a horse, clothed in a coat of mail, and marched to meet Ahmed with 15,000 Nubians and 500 footmen. Scouts informed the King that the Mussulmans had reached Mazaga, on which he was seized with fear, and immediately started for Gojam with his army. The Imam espoused the daughter of the Sultan



Makatter, and stopped ten days, and then set off to pursue the King, saying he would not cease to follow him. Makatter died three days after, and his son Nafi was proclaimed Sultan by Ahmed.

The Imam then made a rapid march to Dembea, a fruitful and well-watered province lying along the great lake from which the Blue Nile issues, and learnt that the King was eight days in advance of him, and had gone to Damot. Pushing on, his scouts came in touch with the rearguard of the Abyssinians near the church of Enferaz. The King in his rapid flight had thrown away his tents, trunks, beds and cuisine, and the Mussulmans breakfasted on the food he had left. Ahmed closely followed him around the eastern shore of the lake, as if he were hunting a wild beast. He counselled his men when they came among Christians to act and talk as Christians, so that the latter mistook them for friends, and by this means they got into the midst of them. At the place where the Abai leaves Lake Tsana the Mussulmans came right upon the King's party, who were crossing the river by a road so narrow that they crushed against one another. Here Mussulmans and Christians intermingled, the Abyssinians having no suspicion that they were amongst enemies; and the Imam was in the midst of them, his sabre in his hand, but unable to use it on account of the narrowness of the way. The Christians pressed against his horse, and in reply to their inquiries he said that he was such and such a noble, and his companions said the same, and that they were come to help the King. At this they were received with shouts by the King's followers. Learning that the King was behind, the Imam and some of his companions turned back, and the King nearly fell into his hands, only owing his escape to the swiftness of his horse as he fled before his pursuers. Numbers of the King's men fell on that day, including the Akabé-Saat, a high dignitary of the church; and Amata Dengel, sister of the King, was taken by the Mussulmans.

After staying a month in Gojam, the Imam again crossed the Abai with half his army on his way to Tigré, first sending aid to his Governors in Dawaro and El Maya, in case the Abyssinians whom he had put to flight should attack them. He travelled by way of Lake Haiq to Aksum, where he met the Vizir Addolé. His followers were exhausted with their long march. Tigré was much impoverished by the war; provisions were scarce and dear, and the greater part of the combats in Tigré had provisions for their objects. Thefts of mules by prowlers round the camp were of frequent occurrence. The day the Mussulmans entered Tigré each of them had 50 to 100 of these animals; when they left they had no more than a mule or two each.

Before the arrival of the Imam, Addolé had sent the Vizir Abbas across the Mareb River into Sarawé. Tasfa Leul, the Governor of that province, on his approach hid in the forests, and Tidrus, one of his cousins, was entrusted by the Mussulmans with the government. But Tasfa Leul fell on him unawares and killed him. Addolé, being sent by the Imam, was also attacked in a wood, and fell covered with wounds. The Abyssinians cut off his head, and sent it to the King, who was then in the country of Wafila, south of Lake Ashangi. He received it with beating of drums and playing of flutes, and had it publicly announced to his people, and the rejoicings continued eight days. Tasfa Leul next attacked Abbas. His troops were armed with bows, javelins and shields, and were innumerable; the Mussulmans had 100 horsemen and 500 shield-bearers. The men of Sarawé advanced boldly to the attack, the leaders clad in coats of mail, boasting that each of them was worth five of the horsemen of the enemy. The Mussulmans bravely met the attack. Tasfa Leul was killed, and his followers, on seeing him fall, turned and fled, pursued by the Mussulmans, who killed them all; not one escaped. The heads of Tasfa Leul and his sons were cut off and sent to the Imam. The inhabitants now submitted, and paid capitation.

It is curious that Arab Faqih does not record the destruction by Granye of the church at Aksum, the memory of which is preserved in the Abyssinian books and also in popular tradition, and of which we hear from Bruce, Salt, Bent and other travellers. Bruce says that "the town was burnt, and with it many of the richest churches in Abyssinia—Hallelujah, Banquol, Gaso, Debra Kerbé and many others." Theodore Bent says that Gran destroyed the church at Aksum, and robbed it of its treasures, and the tradition of the horrors perpetrated by him was at the time of Bent's visit (1893) still retained in Abyssinia. The Mussulmans seem to have been like a flight of locusts in the country, destroying everything, producing nothing. Their sojourn of a year in Tigré so impoverished the country that their provisions were exhausted. No more mules or asses were left, and the greater part of the Mussulmans had to walk and carry their baggage on their backs. The plague, too, broke out in Sarawé, and many died of it, including the infant son of the Imam. So great, indeed, were the misfortunes that befell the Mussulmans that many deserted the profession of Islam and went back to Christianity. The Imam proposed that on account of the scarcity they should leave Tigré and go into Begamder, a region abundant in goods, where they would make their capital and their residence, and would build mosques; when they made an expedition into another country they would leave there their riches, their wives and their mules. To this his followers assented. He first appointed Governors over the newly-conquered territories. Afra was made Bahr-Nagash, Tasfawi had the government of Sarawé, and Zer-Senai that of Hamasen, whilst Dokhono (Arkiko, opposite to the island of Massowah) was given to the Sultan of Dahlak, with whom Granye had made an alliance, so that it would appear that his authority now extended to the sea coast. In Siré, a mountainous district west of Aksum, Didjnah, the Abyssinian Governor, had been allowed to remain in command of his province on

condition of paying a tribute of horses, fifty Mussulman horsemen being placed with him in the interest of the Imam. Somewhere about this time—namely, on the 19th of Hedar (about November 15, 1535)—the Emir Chamun, with forty horsemen, met the King of Abyssinia in Amhara with a much superior force, and put him to flight with considerable loss.

Samen not having yet submitted, the Imam had to make a *détour* in order to reach Begemeder. He therefore entered the country of Mazaga, and fasted there during the month of Ramadhan, 941 (March, 1535). The people of Mazaga gave hospitality to the Mussulmans, and the Imam celebrated in their country the fête of the breaking of the fast. Setting out again for Begemeder, the Imam learnt that the road was barred by a force of Abyssinians under Saul, son of Takla-Iyasus, who occupied a narrow pass in the mountains. Efforts to break through proved unavailing; but Ahmed, with twenty horsemen and a small number of foot soldiers, got round another way, and the Abyssinians, taken at a disadvantage, were driven off with considerable loss in killed and prisoners. Of the chiefs none escaped except Saul, who fled into Samen, a mountainous and difficult country. The Imam wished to follow the fugitives, but was told he could do nothing, for there were no roads for cavalry, and the country was the most difficult in all Abyssinia. Ahmed replied that he would not abandon Samen till it had been converted. He liberated Ganzai, brother of Saul, who had been taken prisoner in the fight, and appointed him Governor of this province, detaining Ganzai's wife, whilst Ganzai started to convert the country. But the latter abandoned his wife and fled. Owing to the neglect of the defenders, Bahr Amba, a precipitous mountain stronghold in Samen, was scaled by a small force, and forty captives were brought back to the Mussulman camp and decapitated.

Samen was inhabited by Falashas, a Jewish people who had long lived there in a state of independence, but had

been brought into subjection some forty years before ; and the Abyssinians, who had fortified the Bahr Amba, were therefore regarded by them with hostility. They came secretly to the Imam, offering to help him against their enemy. Ahmed gave them soldiers to support them, and they climbed the mountain, put in chains the Abyssinian garrison, and brought them to the Imam, who had them all killed. Whilst the Imam thus brought about the subjection of Samen, the Vizir Abbas established himself in Waggara, and the Vizir Modjahid conquered Begemeder. Towns and mosques were built in Waggara and Darha, and the inhabitants cultivated for the Mussulmans and paid capitation, as happened also in the countries of Wafila and Kanfat, between Begemeder and Wag.

The Imam next proceeded to Dembea, a delectable province on the shores of the lake which never suffered from drought, produced horses as great as oxen, and which had a gold market. Ahmed chose this for his residence, built mosques there, and divided the province among his companions, and the Mussulmans enjoyed repose whilst the inhabitants cultivated the land for them. The Christians, chiefs and soldiers who did not wish to obey the Mussulmans took shelter on the islands in the lake, and, when the Imam sent to them to claim the capitation, refused to pay it, thinking themselves secure in their isolated position. But the Imam gave orders to cut great trees and dig them out in the form of boats, and whilst this was being done went into Gojam and ravaged that province, and brought the inhabitants into captivity.

When the Imam returned to Lake Dembea (or Tsana), the boats were finished. He had them fastened together in couples, embarked himself on one of them, and the Arabs navigated the others. As they approached the island of Galila the Christians came out in about fifty of their small, quick-sailing, grass-made boats swift as birds. The Mussulmans met them on the water, and fought them with slings and stones, and as their stronger structures dominated

the smaller craft, they put the latter to flight and landed. The island was plundered, and the convent upon it burnt, says Bruce; it was one of the principal places where the Abyssinians hid their treasures, and great booty was found there.

With the submission of the people of Dembea the "Futuh el Habasha" of Chihab ed-din, as we have it, comes to an end. It is evident from the closing words that it is the first book of a work entitled "Tohfah ez-Zeman," or "Tuhfe ez-zeman" ("The Gift of the Present Time"). But the second book has not come down to us. If it was ever written, it may have been destroyed, perhaps accidentally, perhaps by order of Granye's widow, for the relation of the remainder of the doings of the Imam and his followers in Abyssinia would redound less to the honour of the Mussulmans. The book that we have leaves off when Ahmed had arrived at the zenith of his success. Starting at first with a small force, he had gone on strengthening his hands, and, by attacking the country piecemeal, had by degrees got the whole of Abyssinia into his power. Yet not quite the whole. Some of the mountain recesses had not been penetrated, and away in the extreme south-west Kaffa and some other countries, once tributary to the Negus, long continued to maintain an isolated Christianity and their independence, till in our own day they have again been added to the Ethiopian Empire by the present Emperor Menelik.

Subsequent events are told us with some fulness by European writers—Castanhoso,\* Bruce, and others; for the Portuguese played an important part in preventing the conquest of Abyssinia from becoming final and complete. But in view of the evident carefulness and reliability of Arab Faqih, we should have welcomed his further record

\* "The Portuguese Expedition to Abyssinia in 1541-1543, as narrated by Castanhoso, with some Contemporary Letters, the Short Account of Bermudez, and Certain Extracts from Correa." Translated and edited by R. S. Whiteway. Hakluyt Society, 1902.

of Granye's doings; for, apart from possible exaggerations in the numbers of combatants and killed, and his very natural religious prejudices, his statements may be received without question. It would be well if some Arabic scholar would translate his work into English, and if to this were added a general view of the state of the country before and after Ahmed's campaigns and the rise of the Mussulman power in East Africa, its value would be increased.

Of the two or three years subsequent to 1536 we know little. Bruce tells us of a message sent by Granye to the King exhorting him to submit and make peace, to which the King returned only a haughty and insolent reply. Early in 1539 the King's eldest son, Victor, was defeated and killed by the Garad Othman ben Djauher whilst on his way to meet the King, and a little later Lebna Dengel was himself defeated by Emar. He fled with scanty forces to the country of Salamt, and took up his quarters in a mountain called Thielemfra, but was driven from it by Iyoram, Governor of the district (July 7). In 1539, also, Minas, the fourth son of Lebna Dengel, was captured with his two cousins, and a second attempt by the Vizir Modjahid and Amduch on the royal amba of Geshen was more successful than that of Granye. The amba was surprised, probably by treason. Incalculable riches, which had been amassed since the time of Icon-Amlak, and those which had been deposited there since the commencement of the war, were pillaged, and the members of the royal family collected there were massacred. At last the troubles of the poor fugitive King came to an end with his death at Debra Damo on September 2, 1540. Realizing that, unaided, he could not drive the Mussulmans out of his country, he had five years earlier despatched John Bermudez (who had accompanied the embassy of Don Rodrigo de Lima, and had remained in Abyssinia after its departure) to implore help from the King of Portugal, with the promise that when his dominions were recovered from the Mussulmans he

would submit himself to the Pope. But the Portuguese were so much engaged in contending with the Turks in the Red Sea that it was not till a few months before his death that Lebna Dengel learnt that the King of Portugal proposed to send him 300 trained men, and it was not till the second year of his son and successor, Galawdewos (Claudius), that the promised aid arrived. It was a poor inheritance to which Galawdewos succeeded. Though young, he seems to have shown some powers of generalship, and to have been successful in his first encounter with the Mussulmans; but he had to yield to overwhelming numbers, and was driven by the Imam Ahmed into Shoa.

Don Christovão da Gama entered Abyssinia in July, 1541, with 400 men, and, pressing southward after the rainy season, attacked and repulsed the Imam Ahmed in two battles near Antalo (April, 1542), but was himself wounded and captured in another engagement, and put to death four months later. His men bravely united in defence of the Queen-mother, and were a month or two later joined by Galawdewos, and with him defeated the Mussulmans in Woggera (February 6, 1543), and again on the 21st of the same month at Wainadega, when the Imam himself was killed. After the death of Granye the war was continued by Nur, who appears to have succeeded to the title of Imam, and who married Granye's widow; but Galawdewos, with the aid of the Portuguese, succeeded in reconquering the northern and central provinces, and even took and burnt Harar, though he was himself defeated and killed by Nur in 1559. Nur did not follow up his victory, and the Mussulman domination of Abyssinia was now at an end, though the country long suffered from internal dissensions fomented by the Jesuits.

The success of the Mussulmans in overrunning Abyssinia had been due to two causes: the able leadership of Granye, who not only showed a thorough mastery of all the arts of generalship, but had the power of infusing an enthusiasm into his followers which made them invulnerable, aided by



improved weapons of offence. Firearms had been introduced into Arabia in 1515, and Mohammedan merchants, aided by the policy of the Turks, brought these weapons to Zeila; as they had not at that time reached Abyssinia, the relative power of Mohammedan and Christian was entirely changed, and the genius of the Imam Ahmed enabled him to take full advantage of the improved armament. His Somali armies were accompanied by regular bodies of matchlock-men, who were usually Turks from Zebid in Southern Arabia. It was not until 1530 that the Abyssinians had got one or two cannon, which were worked by two renegade Arabs. We must not regard Granye as a mere marauder or brigand chief. Arab Faqih shows him to have been a typical Mussulman prince, with elevated and generous sentiments, disdainful of money, severe, just, faithful slave to the spoken word, at once a model of courage and religious fervour, devout, prudent and courteous, and a religious zealot of the first order. He never omitted to make a just division of the booty, and when each one had received his share and the public treasury was satisfied, he did not hesitate to burn what was left. He recompensed separately with portions of the booty the troops who served his artillery, as well as those of his guard who remained in the rear and could not take part in the general pillage. The fact that he himself taught the Koran to the converted, above all to children, testifies to his religious zeal.

The effects of the Mussulman conquest of Abyssinia have been far-reaching, and may be said to be felt even to the present day. The impoverishment of the country by the carrying off and destruction of its wealth was most serious, and Abyssinia has never since shown such a high state of civilization or such riches, either on the part of the Sovereign or of the churches, as was the case before the time of Granye. The weakening of the Abyssinians enabled the Turks, who had but a short time before secured the domination of Egypt, to wrest from them the

Red Sea littoral, and to place an effectual barrier on all hopes of progress from exterior sources. It is only in quite recent years, especially since the abandonment by Egypt of its possessions along the Red Sea coast, and the advent of the English, French and Italians, that intercourse with the outer world has been fully resumed, with effects that are already most marked. The general impoverishment of the country, too, rendered it the less able to contend with the unscrupulous intrigues and machinations of the Jesuit missionaries, whose only care was to bring the Ethiopian Church under the yoke of the Roman Pontiff, and who were only finally expelled after they had reduced the country to civil war. But perhaps the most far-reaching effect was the bringing into the land of an alien people, who followed neither the Mohammedan nor the Christian religion, and who overran and cut up the country, and reduced its Sovereigns to a position of servitude. It is in 1537 that we first hear of the incursions of the Gallas into the southern provinces, impoverished and denuded of their fighting men after years of warfare with Granye. Bali, Dawaro and Fatagar were first overrun, and pouring northwards in different columns the Gallas steadily engulfed Shoa, until it was completely cut off—even as it is to-day—by colonies of these invaders. And so for more than three centuries the Ethiopian Empire remained cut up into independent fragments, only united again in quite recent years. The Portuguese soldiers, after the defeat and death of Granye, were sent into Dawaro and the south to try to withstand these invaders; but the effort proved ineffectual, and the Galla hosts pushed on till they swamped the country. They now form a considerable part of the population of the country, though they do not occupy the position which they once did, and are subservient to the Tigreans and Amharans, the older Abyssinian stock. The story of their irruption and rise to power is an interesting one, and may, in part, be traced in Bruce's pages, but it is too long to enter

on here. Probably it could not have been achieved but for the numbing influence of Granye's raids. Now, at any rate, Abyssinia may congratulate itself that it is freed from the incubus that has so long lain upon it, and that it has entered upon a period of prosperity and power as a nation whose friendship is sought by the great Powers of Europe.

# A TRIP TO THE ANCIENT RUINS OF KAMBOJA.

BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL G. E. GERINI.

## PART II.\*

### 9. DEPARTURE OF SOME OF THE PARTY; ANGKOR, THE SIREN, PERSUADES THE AUTHOR TO STAY.

"Ces débris ont pour moi d'invincibles appas,  
Ils parlent à mes yeux, ils enchaînent mes pas."

CASIMIR DELAVIGNE.

EARLY next morning, December 29, circumstances compelled our party to leave these historical sites and return to the prosaical, muddy region of the Great Lake, where the steamer returning thither from Battambang—the last available chance for proceeding in comfort to P'hnom-p'hēñ—was to call for us in the afternoon. Most of the members of our party were pressed for time, having to reach Saigon in time to catch either the homeward or the China-bound French mail-boat, due to leave in three or four days time, and could not afford a longer stay; hence they had, with great reluctance, to leave.

As for myself, however, I was lucky enough to receive by wire from Saigon the welcome news that the steamer for Bāngkōk was not to leave for another eight or ten days. This, under different circumstances, would have been most inopportune, but now proved to be a very boon to me, as it allowed me the opportunity of devoting a few more days to the other Khmēr monuments of the neighbourhood.

But how was I to return at the end of that period? That was the question. A journey overland by way of either Battambang or Khôrāt would have entailed more time than I could have spared, besides covering ground

\* For Part I., see this *Review* for April, 1904.

for the most part already well known to me. And as to returning by descending the Great Lake and its outlet on the chance of picking up a steam-launch to convey me to P'hnom-p'hēñ, no few difficulties had to be overcome. Last, but not least, was the danger of navigating the treacherous Thalē Sāb in a little craft at this season, when the lake could not be implicitly trusted. For when the "inland sea" of Kamboja takes it into its head to be rough and full of the boast of, at one time, being a real sea, ploughed by big merchantmen and marine monsters, it can repeat its ancient habits, and make things positively unpleasant for a frail river craft. Its freaks and occasional outbursts are well known to those who navigate it, and I remember, amongst others, the hint that had been given me by the skipper of the *Bassac*, in the course of a conversation I had with him on the subject of the Great Lake: "Never trust yourself on the Thalē Sāb in a small boat." Apart from these considerations, which had, after all, but very little weight in my decision, there was the far more serious concurrent one that, in the event of the lake becoming rough, delays and stoppages in the navigation would certainly have occurred, capable of tending greatly to delay my arrival in time at my destination. It was a very hazardous undertaking from this point of view; but at last I decided to take the risk and stayed.

The Siānese Commissioner of Siēm-rāb, who had returned to his post the day before, and the Deputy-Commissioner, who had all the time so obligingly assisted us, upon hearing of my intentions and of the puzzling dilemmas that confronted me as regards my return, most kindly undertook to make all necessary arrangements for me. Instead of going back by the way I had come—viz., by the mouth of the Siēm-rāb River, which was both unnecessary and unprofitable—I was to take a new route, combining the advantages of a shorter journey with a fresh archæological field. A fairly sized row-boat, tolerably safe for coasting the Great Lake, with a selected Khmēr crew used to such expeditions, both to be arranged for by

the *Amp'hö* or Siamese district official of the neighbouring sub-district of Rolūos, was to await my arrival at the mouth of the Rolūos River, a watercourse debouching into the lake lower down to the Siem-rāb River, and therefore somewhat ahead of me on my way back. This was the very simple and final programme agreed upon: I was to journey overland from Siem-rāb to the headquarters of the Rolūos district, which short trip would give me the opportunity of visiting several of the best monuments of the golden age of Khmēr art existing that way; and from Rolūos I was to proceed towards the mouth of the stream flowing past there, where the boat would lie in wait for me. The rest of my movements would depend entirely upon the conduct of the deity of the Thalē Sāb, with whom I should have to arrange matters. That being readily agreed upon on my part, and a tolerably safe line of retreat thus having been somehow arranged for me—as behoves the chief of any expedition, even when such merely consists of only one's self and a "boy"—I found myself with a few days at my disposal to devote to a more careful visit to the monuments of the Angkor group.

Nor was this my only good luck, for Dr. Stönnér, a member of our party who had been delegated to the Hānōi Congress by the Royal Berlin Museum of Ethnography, was also to remain—happily for him—for an even more protracted stay, in order to study the same monuments. A first-rate companion and a very enthusiastic student of Oriental subjects as he was, I could not but rejoice at the happy combination of circumstances that had drawn us together, and at the pleasant turn matters had taken, and I forgot all about the Thalē Sāb bogey.

Thus it happened that Angkor, the Khmēr siren, kept me for a few more days within the magic circle of her charms. Hence we bade that morning a regretful farewell to the other members of our party who had to return. Exceedingly agreeable companions had they been for many a day on our journey out here, and now we were to part, for no one knew how long, dispersed by force of circumstances

over the most dissimilar quarters of the globe. The parting over, a pathetically touching one for all, Dr. Stönnér and myself made ourselves at home at the Siem-rāb rest-house, now evacuated by the bulk of our party. However, as I was wholly unprepared for the protracted stay I had so suddenly decided upon to make, and for the consequent lonely journey down the Great Lake, I found myself under the necessity of laying in a stock of essential articles and provisions, and making other preparations for the forthcoming trip. As, moreover, the day before had been such a busy one for us, we decided to devote the present one to comparative rest, so as to be able to attend to our arrangements, and to visit at the same time the no little interesting town of Siem-rāb and its environs, of which we naturally had so far obtained but fugitive glimpses. Accordingly, we arranged our programme for the present and subsequent days, until my hour of departure was, in its turn, also to come. And after having occupied the morning in putting our things into some kind of order, and procuring what we required, we set out in the afternoon for a stroll round the little town.

#### 10. SIEM-RAB (MONDAY, DECEMBER 29).

The present town of Siem-rāb extends for over two miles along the banks of the Angkor River. The wooden dwellings, mostly thatched with palm-leaves, are flanked on both sides, and hemmed in from behind, by plantations of areca, cocoanut, and palmyra palms, besides orange-trees and banana-plants and pine-apples, which last grow admirably everywhere. In the little stream, possessing a fine sandy bed, but with scarcely more than two feet of water at the present season, are built at frequent intervals little weirs, at the tail-end of which are fixed Persian wheels, set in motion by the current, for raising water to irrigate the adjacent gardens. These wheels are curious light structures, exhibiting remarkable ingenuity, for they are made entirely of bamboo canes and laths. There is not the slightest trace

of iron or even a nail in the whole framework ; rattans serve as bindings. Instead of buckets, bamboo tubes are employed, fastened all round to the periphery of the wheel, and disposed in a slanting manner. These fill up as the wheel plunges down into the stream, and pour out their contents, on reaching the summit of their course, into a wooden spout which conducts the water to the plantations on the banks. Such wheels are locally known as *Rohat-tuk*, and are identical with the Siamese *Rahat-nam*. The plantations thus irrigated are partly orchards and partly coconut, areca, betel, and pine-apple gardens. Damar-trees (*Dipterocarpeæ*) are plentiful in the environs ; the oleo-resin extracted therefrom is chiefly employed in the manufacture of torches. The wood used for this purpose, in combination with the oil, is taken from a tree called *Thlók*. The trunk of the damar-trees is sawn into planks, which serve to build the walls of many of the houses. The posts of these are obtained from *Reang* (*Pentachme Siamensis*) and *P'hcheh* (*Vatica*, or *Shorea robusta*, the classical *Sāl* of Buddhist hagiology and Induepopée). Water-buckets of interlaced bamboo slips are also made, coated all over with layers of resin obtained from the two last-named trees. These about sum up all the industries and manufactures of Siem-rāb. A fairly well-stocked market enlivens the eastern bank of the stream, the prominent features of which are several Chinese shops plentifully supplied with tinned provisions, household and agricultural implements, and cotton goods. There are, moreover, a few stalls where fresh supplies of food, fruits and vegetables are displayed for sale early in the morning.

The majority of the population is Khmër ; the rest consists of Annamese and Lāu, with a fair sprinkling of the indispensable ubiquitous progeny of John Chinaman. The Khmërs of the place are remarkably well formed, and tolerably handsome in feature, although not equalling in this respect those of Battambang. The Lāu use Khmër as their medium of oral communication, and have, as a rule, almost entirely forgotten their mother-tongue.



On the whole, Siem-rāb is an important centre, and the population is prosperous without being exactly wealthy. The sufficiently fertile soil would still more enrich its inhabitants were they less indolent. Notwithstanding, Siem-rāb is considered as the second province in order of importance in the basin of the Great Lake, Battambang ranking an easy first, and favourably comparing, as regards both opulence and population, with C'hïeng Mãi. The town of Siem-rāb contains about 15,000 inhabitants, and the district yields at the present time an annual revenue of nearly 100,000 ticals, which is collected by the local Commissioner and forwarded to the Chief Commissioner of the *Monthon Būrap'hū* (*Pūrva Maṇḍala*), or "Eastern Circle," residing at Sri-sup'hon (*Sri-sobhana*).\* Still, with the improved methods of administration which are being gradually introduced by the Siamese Commissioner, who has been but recently established there, the economical status of the people will further improve, accompanied by a corresponding augmentation of the revenue. Meanwhile the disorder and lawlessness that reigned supreme under the old régime, when the affairs of the province were entirely in the hands of an extortionate local Governor, have completely ceased, and tranquillity, as well as security of both life and property, reigns instead, so much so that for over two years crime has been unknown, even that of petty larceny and cattle-lifting, which is the pest of other districts. The benefits of the new administration should soon bear fruit in the shape of improvements of land communications and waterways, increase of trade and agricultural produce, and the general welfare of a long-oppressed people.

In former days *Siem-Rab* was undoubtedly the shipping port and mart of the capital. Its name, pronounced *Siem-reab* or *Siem-reap* in Khmër, belongs to this language, and

\* Since the beginning of the present Siamese year (April 1, 1903), however, the Governor of Battambang has been made Chief Commissioner, and the headquarters of the administration of the Circle have been accordingly transferred to Battambang.

means the "Subdued [lit., "flattened"] Siānese." It is, according to local tradition, accounted for from a defeat there inflicted upon the Siānese invaders. This event is said to have occurred in the time of King *Paduma Suriyavarman*, a very vague and quasi-mythical personage, who may be identical with *Sūryavarman I.*, the Great, of that name, known to have reigned from A.D. 1002 to 1049, when Kamboja was still in the zenith of her power.\* Things entirely changed, however, during the second half of the thirteenth century A.D.—or, to put it more precisely, from about 1259—when the Siānese, having got the upper hand and entirely freed their own country from Kambojan domination, which had weighed upon it for some seven centuries, not only successfully resisted all attempts made by the Khmers to reassert their authority upon Siām, but carried the struggle into the very heart of Kamboja itself, and for ever crippled that now fast-declining power.

The account of the Chinese embassy of 1296-1297 to Kamboja throws a most reliable and important light on such events. The statement relating thereto is as follows: "It is said that during the war with the Siānese the Khmers have compelled all the people to fight."† "In the recent war with the Siānese the country has been completely laid waste."‡

In A.D. 1595-1596 the Siānese annals of Ayuthia inform us that *Müang Nakhōn Siēm-rāb* (*Nagara Siem-rab*) was taken by assault by the Governor of *Khôrāt* pursuant to instructions he had received from King *Narēs*, who was then on the point of making his second expedition to Kamboja, which proved fatal to its capital, Lawek. From the fact of *Siēm-rāb* being here termed a *nagara*, we must assume that it was then, and had been long before that, a walled city. If so, it must have been dismantled after the

\* See, in connection with the above events, my remarks in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1898, p. 147, and January, 1899, p. 163.

† See the already quoted new translation of this account in the *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, vol. iii., 1902, p. 176.

‡ *Op. cit.*, p. 173.

assault referred to, for we do not hear of any disaster having happened to it after that, and we know for certain that for some undetermined period before 1839 the town was without walls, inasmuch as a citadel had to be built by the Siānese in the latter year, in order to be able to hold it and the surrounding district in subjection.

The construction of the citadel in question was commenced (according to the Bāngkōk annals) in January, 1839, by the Siānese General P'hyā Rājasubhāvati.\* Acting under his King's orders, 2,883 Siamese and Mōñ, whom he had brought with him from Bāngkōk, when leaving on December 27 preceding (1838), together with another 10,000 men impressed into service locally and from the surrounding districts, were employed in brick-making,† lime-burning, and digging the foundations. The citadel possessed a length (parallel to the river-bank) of 12 sens (480 metres), and a width (landwards) of 10 sens (400 metres). By the beginning of April, 1839, the walls and bastions had been completed, but the moat had yet to be dug, and the earthwork of the ramparts to be commenced. All being quiet in Kamboja, P'hyā Rājasubhāvati returned to Bāngkōk, leaving his lieutenant P'hyā Sihārāj Dējō to carry out the remaining works. Everything was in readiness by the middle of May. Thus Siēm-rāb could again boast of walls and bastions befitting a real *nagara*, such as it used to be.

\* Aymonier is completely mistaken when he says ("Le Cambodge," Paris, 1901, p. 403) that Siēm-rāb was built "vers 1834 par le général siamois qu'on appelait Chau Khunn Bodin." This General, whose correct title and name were Chāu P'hyā Bodindr Dēc'hā (*Patindra-tējā*), built instead the new walled city of Battambang in 1837-1838, and not Siēm-rāb. Aymonier is again wrong in the date for the foundation of new Battambang, which he places (*op. cit.*, p. 285) in 1834. He is as a rule, it should be remembered, a very uncertain authority on the modern history of either Siām or Kamboja; whilst being, on the other hand, a far more reliable, and perhaps an almost unique, one on Khmēr antiquities, especially inscriptions.

† A good many laterite blocks taken from the ruins of neighbouring Khmēr monuments have, however, been unsparingly used, judging from present evidence.

Since the period of its restoration it appears that the official name of the city has been slightly modified into *Siem-rath* (= *Syama-rastra*, "Siamese Land"), with the evident object of doing away with the unpleasing association the old name conveyed of a Siamese defeat.\* But this attempt at tampering with history—or, at any rate, with time-honoured tradition—was just as inconsiderate and useless, as it was powerless to obliterate the fact. It would therefore be, not only wise, but an act of reparative justice, to restore its former name to the city in future official documents; but for the vulgar it will always continue to be *Siem-rāb*, and nothing more. Defeat after a hardly-fought war is no dishonour to a nation, and in the present case there is, in further extenuation, the overwhelming sum of evidence adduced above, that the town and district were retaken not long afterwards by the defeated side on or about 1259, and at least twice again, in 1595 and 1838. Therefore, all I would say to Siām in this matter is: Forget and forgive!

Returning now to the newly-built citadel referred to above, this was totally abandoned several years ago by both the local authorities and the population, on account of its unhealthiness, its inhabitants being carried off by death after even a short period of residence. At the time of Mouhot's visit (January, 1860) it was still, of course, the seat of government for the province, and that distinguished traveller, heaven knows on what authority, quaintly calls it "New Ongcor,"† an imaginary nickname that has been repeated, parrot-like, in more than one effusion published by tourists.

As I said before, the place is absolutely deserted, and, with its walls overgrown with rushes and its desolate appearance, it looks more like an abandoned suburban

\* See in this connection my remarks in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1899, p. 163.

† "New Ongcor, an insignificant little town, the capital of the province" (Mouhot, "Travels," London, 1864, vol. i., pp. 282, 283).

cemetery than anything else. In the centre rises a unique building, a little shrine graced by a finely-sculptured figure of Ganēsa in sandstone, evidently taken from some old monument in the neighbourhood. Behind this stands a pillar daubed with vermilion and gilt. It is the *Lah-muang*, or central pillar of the city,\* dedicated to the *grama-devata* or tutelary deity of the place. Ganesa seems to play here the rôle of *Neak Ta Klang Muang* (godling of the centre part of the city), as he appears to have formerly done also at Lawek, the old Kambojan capital.† His statue here is likewise painted red, and gold-leaf is applied to it by votaries, who furthermore make offerings of incense, sticks, and *batr* (*patra*), or triangular leaf-platters replete with food of different kinds. Such oblations are profuse, as a rule, in the event of illness, in order to obtain a prompt recovery.

It was getting dark when Dr. Stönnner and myself, bidding farewell to the citadel and its guardian Ganesa, whose task has now become a perfect sinecure, returned to our bungalow not altogether dissatisfied with our stroll through Siem-rāb of the past and present. We were now fully equipped for the proposed little campaign, and the day of comparative rest had imparted to us the renewed vigour necessary for the carrying out of the programme we had decided upon.

## II. ANGKOR THOM REVISITED (DECEMBER 30).

The rising sun saw us once more on our way to Angkor Thom, where the day was to be devoted to a more thorough and prolonged examination of its ruins. The Siamese Commissioner at Siem-rāb had most obligingly placed at our disposal one of the local

\* Apparently a survival of, or adaptation from, the worship of *Bhīmsēn* (*Bhīmasēna*), to whom pillars (*bhīmlāth* or *bhīmgada*, "Bhīm's clubs"), or even unshapely stones covered with red paint, are to this day dedicated in India, red being a colour abhorred by demons (see Crooke's "Folk-lore of Northern India," 1896, vol. i., pp. 90, 91).

† See Aymonier's "Cambodge," t. i., p. 217 *et seq.*

officials thoroughly acquainted with the country, and more especially with its ancient monuments. This official, Lúang Song by name, proved in fact an invaluable and intelligent cicerone. Then fifty-four years of age, he possessed a natural predilection for the relics of Khmër grandeur, and his rudimentary notions had vastly improved during his experience as a guide to several preceding explorers, to whom he had been of great assistance, learning from them in return the art of taking squeezes of inscriptions, mouldings of bas-reliefs, and the like, in which he had attained remarkable proficiency. I cannot speak of his services except with praise, and may confidently recommend him to such future explorers as may be fortunate enough to secure his assistance through the favour of the Siāmesse Commissioner. He, moreover, made himself useful in many other ways, taking entire charge of the transport and other necessary arrangements, such as the hiring of men, etc., thus relieving us completely of such troublesome tasks. As he, in addition, speaks Siāmesse as fluently as his own native tongue (Khmër), he further proved for us the best interpreter procurable, and a fountain-head from which to extract information at first hand, instead of obtaining it in dribblets, filtered through the erring channels of an ignorant and blundering sham of a dragoman.

Having reached the precincts of Angkor Thom, and taken the trail running along the outer bank of the old moat bordering the eastern section of the city walls, we proceeded first to the Gate of the Dead, or *Thvœa Khmôt* (Dvār Khmôch), which is the first entrance one meets with on that side of the city when coming, as we were, from the south. A causeway, flanked by a stone railing surmounted by *nāgas*, runs eastward from it for some 1,000 yards to the stream (Angkor River), crossing it to Tā P'hrom (a group of extensive ruins) on the eastern bank.

After having inspected the gate aforesaid, we retraced

our steps, making a circuit to the stream in order to visit the ancient bridge spanning it in front of the little shrine named *Chau Sai Thewadā*. This bridge—called *Spean Thmo-Krôm*—is built of stone blocks with pointed arches, which are, however as in most Khmër constructions of the kind, of a very narrow span (1.35 metres). Owing to this defective arrangement, the arches of the bridge have been blocked by the detritus of the stream, whose tail-like forks have turned round at their eastern end, and have since flown unconcerned in its new channel. With the exception of this drawback, the bridge is a tolerably fine work of art, consisting of about twenty arches, of which fourteen only remain intact. As to *Chau Sai Thewadā*, it is a completely battered and crumbling structure, struggling in the deadly embraces of the relentless jungle, which is to be deplored, not so much for the building itself as for the beautiful carvings with which it was lavishly adorned.

From thence we betook ourselves to the ancient causeway leading to the city, which we entered this time by its other eastern gate, situated at some 520 yards further to the north than the Gate of the Dead. The entrance now reached is in a better state of preservation than the others; it rejoices in the name of *Thwea Chei* (Jaya), the "Gate of Victory." Within the city we shortly found ourselves in the presence of ruined buildings: the *prasads* *P'hreak Pithu* (Vara Bodhisatva) and *Sū-plôt*. The etymology of the latter's name is fancifully given as *Sū* (sūor) = "to walk" (on a rope), and *Plôt* = a "leather rope," the tradition or story being that ropes made from buffalo hides were fastened to the pinnacles of the towers (of which there are half a score or so standing in a row) of this structure, over which local funambulists used to dance, with a bunch of peacock feathers in each hand, for the amusement of the multitude.

Westwards, and about 250 yards away from this row of towers, stretches a lofty terrace over 200 metres long by

about 14 in width, the upper edge of which was formerly crowned by a *naga* railing. In the centre there arose the royal pavilion, from which the King used to witness the pageants and other displays provided for on the esplanade in front; the rest of the terrace on either side of the royal pavilion was evidently intended for the accommodation of his retinue and the principal officials of the kingdom, as is the custom to this day both in Siām and Kamboja. This terrace is accordingly known as the *P'hreah Banlea* (*Balla*) or Royal Belvedere.

It is at the northern extremity of this terrace, on the ruins of a former kiosk, that stands the famous statue of the Leprous King or *Sdsit* (Sdach) *Komlōng* of Khmēr legend, now sheltered by a humble roof of palm-leaves. Quite independent of the impresssion one is likely to receive from the squalid surroundings, which add nothing to enhance the attraction of the statue, I am inclined to think that the merits of this work of art have been a little too much boomed by former travellers, as it does not present in my humble opinion anything particularly striking. A perhaps superior work may be a similar statue still extant in the Kulēn hills, on the spot where this famed but wicked Rāja Vēna of Further India had ultimately established his residence in order to seek, though in vain, in the limpid headwaters of the Angkor River the cure for the loathsome disease that his similarly-afflicted confrère of Indū legend had succeeded in finding in the waves of the Sarasvatī.\*

\* In the legendary account of early Khmēr history preserved in Siām, this leper King of Kamboja is named *Krung P'hān*—i.e., King *Bāla* or *Vāla* (perhaps a clerical slip for *Bāṇa*?). Strange to say, I notice many points of resemblance between the tale of his woe and that of Janamejaya's, King of Hastināpura. *Krung P'hān* is stated to have become a leper through the blood of a *Nāga* King, whose head he had severed in battle, having spurted on his body. Later on he is said to have caused the death of a *Brāhmaṇ* who had tried to cure him. Similarly Janamejaya was, according to the *Purāṇas*, sorely afflicted with leprosy as a punishment for having sought to exterminate the whole *Nāga* or serpent race. He, moreover, also killed a *Brāhmaṇ*, in expiation for which sin he had to listen to the recitation of the *Mahābhārata* from the mouth of *Vaiśam-*



A score of yards or so to the westward of the terrace above referred to arose the palace enclosure, embellished by numerous superb edifices, the ruins of which are strewn about the site. Some among them, like the *P'himan Akas* already noticed above (§ 8) and the *Ba Pūon*, are still partly extant, but in a much-shattered state. As regards the *P'himan Akas*, I may here add that it is thought to be the *Yasodhara-giri*, erected by Yasovarman (A.D. 889 to *circa* 908). It is, moreover, probably the other golden tower mentioned in the relation of the 1296-1297 Chinese embassy to Kamboja, as rising within the precincts of the King's private apartments, and on the summit of which the Sovereign used to sleep. The natives pretend (the story continues) that in the tower dwells the soul of a nine-headed Nāga, who is the lord of the soil of the whole kingdom. This spirit appears every night in the shape of a woman, and it is with her that the King first lies. At the second night-watch she disappears, leaving the King free to enjoy the society of his wives and concubines. Should the spirit not appear on a certain night, it is a sign that the moment for the King's death has arrived. Furthermore, should the King miss the meeting for a single night, some calamity is sure to happen.\*

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pāyana, by whom he was afterwards cursed in consequence of his patronage of the Brāhmins of Anga, who followed the Vājasaneyi branch of the Yajur-Veda. Krung P'hān was similarly cursed by the colleagues of the saintly man whose death he had caused. Query, therefore, is not the Krung P'hān legend a reflex of the Indū story relating to Janamejaya? The Khmēr King in question hardly seems to have been a really historical personage. It is true that the history of the years 1296-1297 anonymously refers to him as a King of yore who had contracted leprosy, but this is insufficient evidence to argue that a King of Kamboja—rather than of ancient India—is implied. Equally suspicious is Aymonier's suggested identification of the Sdeit Komlōng with Yaśovarman (A.D. 889 to *circa* 908), the founder of Angkor Thom. According to the legendary account above referred to, the body of the leper King after his death, and those of his concubines, were transformed into stone, in which form they are still visible on the octagonal mount of the Kulēn range.

\* See the already quoted *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, t. ii., pp. 143-145.

I myself have but little doubt that the *P'himan Akas* may have served as a temporary sojourn for the King, although I incline to the opinion that Khmër monarchs must have resided, as a rule, in some other building—very likely a wooden one near by. For it has ever been the custom of Kings, both in Siām and Kamboja, never to dwell in apartments that had been occupied by their predecessors, especially if these did not belong to the same lineage. The private apartments of preceding Sovereigns are, as a rule, set aside for other purposes, chiefly connected with funeral commemorations or religious ceremonies, and the successor takes up his abode in a new building specially erected for the occasion. It is therefore more probable that the Khmër Kings visited the *P'himan Akas* by night merely for the purpose of performing some rite in honour of the spirit or ashes of their ancestors; and thus the *P'himan Akas* may well have served as a sort of palace *columbarium*, where the urns containing the remains of some lately deceased Sovereigns were kept.\*

I cannot enter here into details as regards the arrangement of the palace, which can still be traced to a large extent by the ruins. Portions of the walls of the enclosure are still standing, which formed a double enceinte all round, of a rectangular shape, and separated by an intervening moat. The inner wall of these enceintes, about 20 feet high, encompasses an area of 435 by 245 metres, of which the short sides run from north to south. Six monumental gates (of which two on each of the long sides, and one on each of the short ones) gave access to it from the exterior. The most magnificent of these was the eastern one, which is provided with three entrances, and opens towards the

\* During the halcyon days of Kambojan grandeur, funeral monuments were often erected to deceased Kings, which were, in my belief, no mere cenotaphs, but real *ἡρώα*, or sepulchral chapels, in which the urns containing the ashes of the dead were kept (see, e.g., Lelai and P'hrah Khô below). But later on, when art declined and the degenerate Khmers ceased to build monuments, the ashes of deceased Kings must have been kept in palace *columbaria*.

terrace, fronting, as we have seen, the eastern side (the principal one) of the palace. The gates are built of fine blocks of sandstone, while the walls of the palace enclosure consist of laterite.

Before leaving the precincts of the palace I must mention the exquisite sculptures, some of which are in alto-relievo, and adorn the wall facing the basement of the terrace just referred to. They mostly represent battle and hunting scenes. The latter are the most notable, on account of the stamp of truthfulness and reality which they possess. Above all, a fine bas-relief, representing a deer-hunt on elephants, struck me as masterly. One of the elephants grasps a large deer with its trunk, and the pachyderm next following has seized in the same manner a fawn, struggling almost Laocoön-like, in the convulsions of death. The elephants are ridden by men armed with lances and javelins. At some distance ahead walks a servant carrying food in parallelpiped hampers, balanced one in front and the other behind, on a pingo-pole. This manner of carrying things continues to be adopted by coolies at the present day. Other scenes represent the hunt of the wild buffalo, and even fights with rhinoceroses and tigers taking place in the very midst of the primeval jungle. Tourists should not neglect to view these exceedingly well-executed sculptures.

After having made the tour of the palace and visited several ruined edifices surrounding it on the northern and eastern sides, which would take too long to enumerate, we proceeded a short distance southwards to the far more important and impressive building now known by the name of *Ba Puon*, the etymology of which is with the usual naïveté traced to *Ba* = "boy" + *puon* = "to teach," "to train." The common notion is, in fact, that youngsters were here trained in theatrical acting and dancing! The main part of the monument consists of a series of seven terraces supported by walls of sandstone, rising in decreasing tiers to a height of fully 28 metres, on the top of which

rose a tower, now totally collapsed into a heap of débris, rearing its summit to a height of some 50 metres from the level of the ground. The roof of this tower—as appears from tradition and from the story of the 1296-1297 Chinese embassy to Kamboja—was covered with sheets of copper which had probably been formerly gilt, so that the structure formed together with the gilt domes of the Bā-yôn and the *Phiman-akas* a splendid triad of most fascinating objects. According to the Chinese account just referred to, this copper-roofed tower was even more conspicuous and impressive than the other two gilt ones. “It is these monuments,” the narrative proceeds, “that have given rise, in our opinion, to such high praises of a rich and noble Kamboja (*Chên-la*) as merchants have, since their advent, lavished upon that land.”\* Moura thinks† that this seven-tiered pyramidal structure of the Bā-Pūon symbolized Mount Kailāsa, and compares it to the Javanese Kalisari and Buru-budur! But nothing is more absurd than such comparisons and identifications as he and other empiricists of Khmër archæology have been foisting upon a too benevolent world for the last thirty years or more. The most elementary knowledge of Indū and Further Indian

\* From the new translation in the *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, t. cit., pp. 142, 143. Chao Ju-kua, writing about 1240 from information gathered from preceding accounts of Kamboja, and from merchants and envoys who had journeyed thither, is most explicit on the subject of the Bā Pūon, but the allusion he makes I have not so far seen either identified or quoted in any work on the antiquities of Kamboja. He says: “In the extreme south-west [of the royal palace: this locates beyond any doubt the monument he speaks of, and establishes its identity with the Bā Pūon] rises a bronze towered structure surmounted by twenty-four bronze pagodas [domes], and guarded by eight elephants in bronze [the guardian elephants of the eight quarters], each of which weighs 4,000 katis” (“Aus der Ethnographie des Tschau Ju Kua, von Friedrich Hirth,” in *Sitzungsberichten der K. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1898, Heft iii., p. 496). The observations between brackets are mine, and so is the identification of the structure here described with the Bā Pūon, which rises to the south of the royal palace of Angkor Thom, the main portion of the building—i.e., the towered monument—lying quite close to the south-western corner of the palace enclosure.

† “Le Royaume du Cambodge,” Paris, 1883, vol. ii., p. 273.

mythology teaches us that Kailāsa, the Silver-white Mountain, should never be represented with a copper or copper-gilt casing, but in a bright silver coating, except for such structures, if any, on the summit representing Siva's palace. Both from the disposition in seven tiers and its gilt appearance, the merest griffin can see that it is a question of Meru with its seven surrounding mountain ranges; of such a building, in fact, as appears in every Siānese capital, whether with a Brahmanic or Buddhistic character, under the name of *P'hū Khān Thōng*—i.e., the Golden Mountain.\* Were there still any doubt left, it is dispelled by the mention of the statues of the guardian elephants of the eight quarters (*Lokapālas*) in Chao Ju-Kua's account, which mythical creatures are, in Indū mythology, placed round Meru, along with the regent deities of the eight points of the compass. Stone figures of elephants may be seen standing to this day at the corners of each of the seven terraces, supporting the basement of the central tower; and little turrets of exquisite design crown the porches of the third platform, through which staircases lead up from below. Such elephants may have been gilt of yore, or else the bronze figures alluded to in the narrative must have disappeared.

Leaving the Bā-Pūon by the causeway paved with stone slabs which leads from it eastwards for some 250 metres to the triple gate that formed the principal entrance to its precincts from that quarter, we reached the *sala* or resting-shed of an unprepossessing modern Buddhist monastery, situated to the south, and not far westward from the Bā-yōn. Here, in the very midst of the most superb ruins of the

\* See, for more technical details about the Kailāsa and Meru, my monograph on the "*Cūlākanta-maṅgala* ; or, The Tonsure Ceremony as performed in Siām," Bāng-kōk, 1893, pp. 95-109. On p. 96 I have stated therein: "Meru is the Golden Olympus, hence called *Hemādri* (the 'Golden Mountain'), . . . and Kailāsa the Silver Olympus, styled in consequence *Rajatādri* (the 'Silver Mountain')." In ancient Siānese literature the latter is styled *P'hū-P'hūak*—i.e., the "Silver [-white] Mountain" (see *op. cit.*, p. 164).

Kambojan capital, we finally sat down to do honour to a well-earned although belated tiffin, which had for some time been waiting for us. Shortly afterwards, whilst strolling about the wooden buildings of the monastery to find some of its inmates with whom to have a little conversation, I noticed one of the monks busy hewing a plank with an axe, instead of using a saw, the use of which is not even now quite general in Kamboja. This apparently trifling detail is of no small interest, as it recalls a passage in the narrative of the 1296-1297 Chinese mission to Kamboja, where the same peculiarity has been observed and duly made a note of. "The carpenters," the narrative runs, "have no saws, and only work with axes. Thus, to make a plank requires plenty of wood and a good deal of work."\* This shows that the Khmërs, the real Khmërs, are still, in point of handicraft, at about the same stage they were seven centuries ago. Of course, I shall revert in due course to the bubble of the so-called Khmër art and civilization, set adrift by the empirics of Kambojan archæology, in the special chapter that shall hereafter be devoted to the discussion of such topics, while limiting myself here to point out that, if I have so far spoken of ancient Khmër masterpieces of art and the like in these pages, it was merely in a conventional way, and with the object of avoiding being misunderstood if using terms other than those to which the public has been hitherto accustomed through the publications of the delicious empirics just referred to.

After a parting look at the Bā-yōn and other neighbouring ruins, which we had not previously had the opportunity of examining in detail, we returned to Siem-rāb, reaching it just in time to take, before dark, one of those pleasant, refreshing baths that its river offers to the weary traveller.

## 12. MOUNT BA-KHĒNG (WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 31).

Early in the morning we were off again on the warpath—I mean on the track leading towards Angkor Thom, in the

\* New translation, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

neighbourhood of which lay the theatre of our exploits for the time being. Shortly after having passed Angkor Wat, and at about three hundred yards before reaching the southern gate of the old Kambojan capital, we turned to the left (westwards) towards the foot of P'hnom Bā-khēng, the art-treasures of which we proposed to visit that morning. A short climb up the steep staircase, now corroded by the wear and tear of so many centuries, brought us near the summit of the hill, where a terrace has been cut out of its eastern flank. On the floor of this terrace one notices two rows of square mortices carved in the rock, which served for the insertion of square stone pillars supporting a covered gallery leading to the sanctuary on the top of the hill. Only a few of the pillars remain standing; of others one sees but the fragments scattered about. Two chapels, likewise built of stone blocks, rise on either side of the passage, and are now occupied by rude statues of Buddha.

Near by, half-hidden among the foliage of the banana-plants and fruit-trees, adorning a small cultivated patch, appear the wooden structures of a Buddhist monastery inhabited by Annamese monks who have here fixed their hermitage, and keep, with great comfort to visitors, the plateau clear of the inroads of the all-pervading jungle. What a contrast between this unpretending scenery and the time when the summit of this hill was the scene of bustling pageants and mysterious and weird ceremonies, including, very probably, the sacrifice of human victims!\*

\* The history of the Chinese Sui Dynasty ("Sui-shu," A.D. 581-617, chapter lxxxii, p. 8) mentions a mountain in the neighbourhood of the capital, named *Ling-kia Po-p'o* (*Linga-parvata*, and not *Lañka-parvata*, as Professor Hirth, *op. cit.*, p. 506, erroneously suggests), on the top of which rose a temple ever guarded by five thousand (other versions say *one* thousand) soldiers. The temple is sacred to a deity termed *P'o-to-li* (either *Bhadresvara*, *i.e.*, Siva, or *Bhadresvari*, his wife, *i.e.*, Kālī or Durgā, and not *Bhadra*, as Hirth translates), to whom human sacrifices are made. Every year the King proceeds to this temple to immolate himself a human victim during the night. So Ma Tuan-lin's version in Hervey de Saint-Denys' translation ("Ethnographie des peuples étrangers à la Chine," Méridionaux, Genève, 1883, p. 483). Professor Hirth, in translating the

The narrative of the 1296-1297 Chinese embassy to Kamboja speaks of a stone tower rising at half a *li*'s distance (*circa* 150 to 200 metres) from the southern gate of the city, and adds that this structure was erected in one night by *Lu Pan*, the supernatural architect, here meaning *Visvakarman*, the celestial artificer of Indū mythology, better known as *Viṣṇukam* (*Viṣṇukarman*) in Siām and Kamboja. The stone tower in question has severally been thought to correspond either to the monument on the top of P'hnom Bā-khēng, or to the brick tower named after King Paksī Chōng-krōng, which lies at the foot of the same hill on its northern side. I incline, however, towards the former alternative.

While on the subject of the Chinese relation just alluded to, I may be allowed to state my humble opinion towards clearing up the disputed point as regards the tomb of Lu Pan mentioned therein. "The tomb of Lu Pan," the

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corresponding passage from the "Sui-shu," distinguishes between the *Līṅga-parvata* and the temple of *P'o-to-li*, which latter he locates to the east of the city. Of course, the capital here referred to is not Angkor Thom, which had not then been built. But Chao Ju-kua, in about 1240, mentions *en passant* this very temple of *P'o-to-li*, to whose deity very cruel sacrifices were made. This information may be drawn from old sources, but may also be quite recent, and apply to some temple near the then capital, Angkor Thom, which I have good reason to think is the one on P'hnom Bā - Khēng. Shrines of Bhadreśvara were erected in many parts of Kamboja. The Sanskrit Khmēr inscription of Samrong—a hamlet lying at about two and a half miles to the north-east of Angkor Thom—refers to a shrine erected to *Śrī Bhadreśādri* or *Śrī Bhadreśvara*, called the *Śrī Bhadreśvarāsrama*, in A.D. 1106, and states that this was the deity of *Līṅgapura* (see Aymonier's "Cambodge," vol. ii., pp. 390, 391). There is, therefore, a great probability that we have here the equivalent for Chao Ju-kua's *P'o-to-li*, and the shrine may be the one on Mount Bā-Khēng. Moura ("Le Royaume du Cambodge," vol. ii., p. 367) came to the same conclusion as regards the *Līṅga-parvata* (the second part of which term he was at a loss to explain); but he thought to locate the *P'o-to-li* shrine at *Prāsād Kēu*, a monument lying to the east of Angkor Thom on the further (eastern) side of the river (p. 359). His opinion is, however, of but little weight in connection with Khmēr antiquities, and his bulky work, though painstakingly brought together, is bristling with mistakes and inaccuracies, especially in its archæological portion.



account tells us, "is situated at about 1 *li* (300 metres) from the southern gate of the city, and has a circuit of some 10 *li* (3,000 metres). There are several hundreds of little edifices in stone." There can be no doubt, as has already been suggested, that the immense mass of buildings here referred to cannot be aught else but Angkor Wat. The circuit of the wall enclosing the area within the ditch running round Angkor Wat measures about 3,750 metres, which would be approximately "some 10 *li*." A far more serious drawback is, of course, the trifling distance of "about 1 *li*" assigned to the space separating Angkor Wat from the southern gate of the city. The real distance is about one mile, say 5 to 6 *li* in Chinese measurement. There is, therefore, an error in the Chinese text, which is not surprising considering the less gross misascribed distances even in modern European authors, such as, *e.g.*, in Mouhot himself, when he tells us (vol. i., p. 285) that it takes "about a couple of hours" to reach Angkor Wat from the citadel Siem rāb (one and a quarter hours would be more than sufficient), and, *mirabile dictu!* that the buildings of the royal treasury at Angkor Thom occupied, according to tradition, "a space of more than [*excusez du peu*] 300 miles!" (p. 278).

But in spite of the drawback of the incorrect distance above referred to, the mention of the "several hundreds of little edifices in stone" furnishes us with a clue for the identification of these structures with those of Angkor Wat. I observe, in fact, that Hwang Hsing-ts'êng has a passage in his "Hsi-yang Ch'ao-kung Tien-lu," published A.D. 1520, where he says of Kamboja: "At the season of New Year a display is made of apes, peacocks, white elephants, and rhinoceroses in front of . . . [lacuna], which is called the 'Feast of the Hundred Pagodas.' On the day of this feast incense is burnt and worship is offered to Buddha."\* Now, this passage is taken from Fei Hsin's "Hsing-ch'a Shêng-lan" (published A.D. 1436), where, in the sentence 百塔之會

\* *China Review*, vol. iv., 1875-1876, p. 61.

(*Pai-t'a-chih-hwei* = "Meeting, or Festival, of the Hundred Pagodas"), the last character is replaced by 島 (*chou* = "island"). The same reading, it seems, occurs in the account of the 1296-1297 Chinese embassy to Kamboja, for Rémuyat has translated here "*l'Ile des Cent Tours*." The passage, therefore, applies to the period when the Kambojan capital was still at Angkor Thom.

Now, what can this "Isle of the Hundred Towers" be, except Angkor Wat, isolated as it were from the rest of the land by the immense ditch that surrounds it? And the Buddhist festival referred to as held there at the time of the New Year is probably the same noticed above by myself as taking place at the same season down to the present day. The latter is, therefore, a mere continuation of the former custom.\* The existence of such a custom for Angkor Wat, coupled with the other circumstantial evidence adduced above, concurs, in my opinion, in establishing beyond any possible doubt the identity of the "tomb of Lu Pan" of the Chinese narrative on the 1296-1297 embassy with the Angkor sanctuary. And it is quite likely that, if this name *Lu Pan* refers to some legendary personage then commonly supposed to have been entombed there, instead of to the builder of the monument, it may be meant for *Rāvana*, of which it would be a clumsy transcript. The representations on the bas-reliefs of the Angkor Wat galleries of the epic war against *Rāvana*, ending in the defeat and death of this wicked potentate, may well have contributed to the belief of ignorant people, and more especially of Chinese strangers entirely ignorant of Indū mythical lore, that his remains lay entombed in the sanctuary itself. I shall revert more fully to these points afterwards, merely confining myself to

\* I should not think that the Chinese New Year is meant, in which event the ceremonies held might have reference to the Māgha festival of Buddhists. But this seems hardly to be the case. From the displays described, it is evident that the rejoicings and religious ceremonies held were really connected with the Khmēr New Year, the season for general merriment and merit-making, usually falling on or about the beginning of April.

observe here that, from the various extracts quoted above from Chinese writers on Kamboja, it plainly follows that in the thirteenth century Angkor Wat, if not as yet converted into a Buddhist shrine, was at any rate already the scene of periodical Buddhist festivals. This, being very important, should be taken note of.

Returning now to Mount *Ba-khēng*, I shall give, for whatever it may be worth, the commonly accepted derivation of its name as related to me. This is traced to the fact of the ferruginous limestone forming the hill being harder than that employed in the Angkor structures, whence the hill came to be termed *P'hnom Ba-Khēng*, which would thus mean the "Hill of the Hard Stone." If so, the designation must be comparatively modern, for *Khēng* = "hard" is almost certainly a purely Thai (Siāmesé) word. The softer sandstone of Angkor and neighbouring monuments is called *Thmō p'hôk* (lit., "Mud-stone"), whereas laterite is known as *Bai-kriēm* (lit., "Dried [or parched] Rice").

Having completed our examination of the ruins on the terrace above mentioned, we climbed up the steps leading to the sanctuary—or, at least, to whatever little is now left of it—on the top of the hill. Very little can be distinguished of its ancient shape and disposition except the basement, rising in three decreasing tiers, completely overlaid by the fragments of the domed structure once surmounting it. As a reward, however, one obtains from this eminence, of some 100 metres in height, a magnificent view of the surrounding country, all strewn with the glorious remains of past Khmēr grandeur—a matchless panorama that amply repays one for the trouble of escalading the hill. The densely-wooded plain beneath stretches away farther than one can see, being limited only on the north-east, some twenty-five miles away, by the long bulwark of the P'hnom Kulēn range. At about twelve miles towards the east the little summit of P'hnom Bôk emerges from the surface of that gently ruffled and undulating sea of deep green vegetation which

almost completely conceals the extensive ruins of the Kambojan capital, although lying quite close at hand, so that, unless told, one would scarcely suspect their existence under the dense foliage. Again, at about twelve miles towards the south, rises a unique landmark which catches the eye, the rounded top of P'hnôm Krôm, enwrapped in a haze of vapours, indicating the proximity of the invisible expanse of the Great Lake. Finally, towards the south-east, and little more than a mile away, culminate quite distinct, and in all the indescribable charm of their glory, the numerous domes of Angkor Wat, surrounded by a phantasmagoria of porches, galleries, and pavilions. A most sublime vision almost "too fair to worship, too divine to love"! Incomparable and most eloquent example of human genius and faith immortalized by monumental art; a priceless legacy of the old Further-Indian to the modern degenerate world; a lasting memento of the divinely inspired giants for dull-witted and emasculated pigmy sluggards, utterly incapable, in their crass idiocy, not only of adequately appreciating, but even of feeling the slightest interest in it!\*

After having descended from P'hnôm Bā-khêng, and before leaving definitely the scene of so many thrilling memories of the past, I could not help paying a parting visit to the ever-captivating sanctuary, the endless beauties of which I yearned to enjoy once more, as well as to examine it more leisurely than I was enabled to do before.

\* See in this connection what Warington Smyth relates of his experience of native sentiments as regards the sanctuary in his "Five Years in Siam" (London, 1898, vol. ii., p. 236): "As we all sat smoking in the evening before the cruciform steps of the main entrance, a Cambodian monk asked why people came so far to see a building which was half grown over by the jungle, and inhabited by countless bats. The reply came from the old Tongsu, who was on his knees gazing at the dark façade before him, 'I came because I had never seen it.' The reason was unintelligible to the dull Cambodian, but it was sufficient for the enterprising Shân." Just so; not content with their callous indifference to such art treasures, the modern Khmêrs doubtless look upon as fools those who take the trouble to journey from afar in order to see what these people consider to be mere heaps of rubbish. Oh, the old adage about pearls being cast before swine, etc.!

There, accordingly, with my no less enthusiastic companion, I spent the rest of that forenoon, devoting my attention especially to the gallery of the interminable bas-reliefs. Late in the afternoon we returned to our quarters at Siem-rāb, where I had to complete the preparations for my journey, as the start was fixed upon for the morrow.

The close of the year of grace 1902 was duly honoured that evening—strange and unexpected contrast with local surroundings!—with the luxury of a couple of bottles of excellent champagne which our friends had managed doubtless by design and admirable forethought to hide amongst our things, convinced that we should find them in due course. We understood at once, on discovering them, the meaning of the pious trick they had played upon us, and our thoughtful companions of the first part of our journey were not forgotten in the toast with which we heartily honoured them, as well as other persons no less dear to us, who were still farther away. No more touching toast was ever, perhaps, drunk by these two waifs of the West, in the stillness of the night, in the sleepiness of remote Siem-rāb, and amongst the weird surroundings that evoked so many memories of an entirely different character.

### 13. DEPARTURE FOR THE RUINS OF THE LELAI GROUP (THURSDAY, JANUARY 1, 1903).

The first day of the New Year marked also a new departure for me—a transition, as it were, from an old to a new world.

At a quarter past seven I left Siem-rāb definitely, accompanied by Dr. Stöner, who, after visiting with me the famous monuments of the Lelai group, desired to see me off at the very outskirts of the scene of our archæological ramblings.

The Siem-rāb stream was easily forded by our bullock-carts; then, leaving behind us the gardens fringing its eastern bank, we proceeded eastwards by the trail across an open plain dotted with rare clusters of shrubs. Here

abound turtle-doves, parakeets, cranes, and a variety of other birds which seem, happily for them, to completely ignore the guiles of the sportsman's gun, as they do not in the least appear to dread the approach of insidious man. These parts offer, accordingly, promising bags to the tourist prompted by energetic proclivities. But we had brought no guns with us, as the quarry we were in quest of was of a quite different nature.

Our caravan consisted of six bullock-carts, of which three were for myself, "boy," and sundry paraphernalia; one mounted by Lúang Song, our inseparable cicerone, and the other two for the use of Dr. Stönnér and his servant. At 9 a.m., having travelled some ten miles, we reached Lēlai.

This exquisite monument is composed of a pyramidal basement in three tiers, rising like an islet in what was formerly an extensive but shallow pond. On the top of this platform, some 20 feet in height above the present level of the ground, stand four square brick towers in two rows, two dedicated to Siva and two to his spouse. The towers are most richly decorated, not only with eight stone niches, each containing statues of guardian godlings (*ārakṣas*), but with doors embellished with exquisitely sculptured lintels, and, what is far more important, skilfully executed Sanskrit inscriptions engraved on the sandstone frame and posts of the doors. These epigraphic records, conjointly with a superb bilingual stela erected near the eastern entrance to the platform, tell the tale of the origin and object of the monument, which we thereby learn was raised by King Yaso-varman (A.D. 889 to *circa* 908) in honour, and on occasion of, the exequies of his father Indra-varman (A.D. 877-889), in July, 893.

By the side of this splendid monument a modern Buddhist monastery named Wat Lēlai has been built, from which the name *Lelai* (locally pronounced *Lolei*) has been given to the ruins. This term, equally puzzling to the natives as it has been hitherto to every foreign visitor and student of

local antiquities, Aymonier included,\* doubtless represents, in my opinion, the Pāli toponym *Pārileyyaka*, designating a forest country existing in North India between Kosambī and Sāvattī. There, in the Rakkhita grove, Buddha is recorded as having dwelt for some time, during which a white elephant came to offer him water, and a white monkey a comb of honey.† Hence any Buddhist shrine or monastery containing a representation of Buddha while dwelling in that wild solitude is called *Parileyyaka*, a term corrupted in Siānese into *Pā-Lelai* (which spelled thus detached conveys the meaning of "Lēlai Forest"), and still more perverted in Khmēr into *Palilai*, or simply *Lolei*. Two Buddhist shrines are known to me besides the one bearing the latter name. One, called *P'hreah Palilai*, is a ruined monument (originally Viṣṇuitic) situated right opposite the western gate of the north wall of the royal palace enclosure at Angkor Thom. The other, *Wat Pa-lelai*, is to be found in Western Siām, near Sup'han.

No Buddhistic statue justifying the name now exists for certain in the *Lolei* monastery, but this is no sufficient plea for rejecting the relationship, because such a statue may have formerly stood there. The *uposatha*, or holy assembly hall, presents nothing remarkable except the peculiarity that here, as in most such buildings in Kamboja, the eight *sīma*, or boundary stones marking the consecrated area, are placed in the interior of the hall, and not on the exterior, as in Siām. The *vihara*, or idol-house, is also very often absent in Kambojan temples.

\* All he can do is to report the absurd native explanation, according to which *Lēlai* or *Lolei* derives from *Alai* (*Ālaya*) = "regrets." But this suggestion, as he himself says, is valueless. If those who authoritatively treat of Khmēr antiquities took the pains of learning a little bit of Buddhism and Brāhmapic tenets, as well as a little Pāli or Sanskrit, these being the indispensable foundations for such studies, their books would be less marred by mistakes of every kind, and their labours far more fruitful of reliable results.

† See "Mahāvagga," x., 4, 6 *et seq.*, and 5, 1; also "Jātaka," 428, Introduction, etc.

*P'hreah Kū*.—Having completed our visit, we turned our steps due south towards the neighbouring monument of *P'hreah Kū*, which lies at about 1,000 metres or so from the preceding one. Its plan is somewhat simpler than *Lolei*, as it consists of a vast laterite enclosure, now under the unchecked dominion of the jungle, with six brick towers in two rows at the centre. These are similar in shape and ornamentation to those of *Lolei*, although not so large and beautiful. Like the former, they have the principal entrance towards the east, false doors being built on the other sides. Inscriptions occur as plentifully here as on the other monument, nor is there any lack of a stela with a digraphic inscription. From such epigraphic documents we learn that the edifice was erected by King *Indra-varman* (877-889) to his father *Prithivīndra-varman* (who does not appear to have reigned), in January, A.D. 880. The three towers of the front row were dedicated to *Siva*, and those of the rear row to the latter's spouse. Two mutilated statues of the *P'hreah Kū* (*P'hrah Khô, Vara Go*), or Sacred Bull, forming the vehicle of the god, still remaining in front of the sanctuary, gave origin to the present name of the monument, edifyingly spelt *Bacou, Baku*, and even *Prea Con*, in the effusions of the usual empirists. The characteristic of its towers is that, unlike those of the neighbouring buildings of the same group, they are covered with a layer, about  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches thick, of a strong plaster, which was formed into exquisitely beautiful mouldings.

*Ba-Không*.—Once more we were bending our steps due south towards the other monument of the same group, called *Ba-Không*, which lies at about 2,000 metres from *P'hreah Kū*, and 3,000 metres from *Lēlai*, aligned on a single row with these two. It is an extensive but much dilapidated building, completely different in plan from the preceding ones. As many as eighteen domed towers, all of brick-work, rise on the area, encompassed by the outer enclosure and by the ditch running round it. A second and inner



enclosure surrounds the space occupied by the sanctuary proper. This consists of eight towers similar to the preceding, and a central pyramidal platform rising in five tiers to a height of about 13 metres. On the top of this was a structure of which only the basement remains. Four staircases formed of large slabs of sandstone give access to the summit from the four sides which face the cardinal points. Monoliths tastefully sculptured, representing elephants in complete harness, adorned the four corners of each tier of the pyramid, their size decreasing at each successive tier, so as to enhance the loftiness of the monument.

From these particulars the reader will see that the edifice now under consideration was erected on a somewhat similar plan to that of Bā Pūon (see § 11), and must similarly have been intended to represent Mount Meru with the heavenly abodes all round. The towers are in rather a dilapidated state, and present little worthy of note except a few bas-reliefs and fragments of Sanskrit inscriptions, from which can be made out that the foundation dates from the reign of Indra-varman (A.D. 877-889). The sandstone, here lavishly employed, especially in the central structure, is similar to that of Angkor Wat. From the fact that, according to Aymonier,\* the central pyramid is sometimes designated *Ba-yôn* (i.e., *Parganka*, or "throne," as we have shown), it may not be unlikely that the King—as the tradition recorded by Mouru goes†—was in the habit of proceeding to its summit every year in order to witness the nautical festivals held around while the country was flooded by the Thalē Sāb. Or he may have temporarily sojourned there for some other purpose; otherwise we must come to the conclusion that the central platform in question merely supported the throne of the deity (i.e., either Indra, or Siva; or the latter's symbol, the *linga*).

The conventional name now vulgarly applied to the

\* "Cambodge," t. ii., p. 428.

† "Le Royaume du Cambodge," t. ii., p. 377.

monument is *Ba-Không*, which would mean "large gong," but such an etymology has infinite chances of ultimately proving absurd, for *Vakon*, as a name of a district, occurs in one of the neighbouring P'hrēah Kū inscriptions,\* and thus very probably represents the actual *Ba-Không*. Below, quite close by the rear of the principal structure, stand the wooden buildings of a modern Buddhist monastery, surrounded by clusters of tufted cocoanut palms, which yield a deliciously cool shade, and form a pleasant retreat for the weary traveller desiring a rest during the torrid heat of mid-day.

#### 14. MÜANG SŪTR.

It was well past noon when we left, bound eastwards, for the neighbouring Müang Sŭtr, which we reached about 1 p.m., halting at the office of the *Amp'hö* (here established and sent from Bāng-kōk), which had very kindly been placed at our disposal for luncheon. The office in question was a cosy, neat wooden structure just recently erected, furnished with tables and chairs, a luxury that I was to enjoy for the last time until I re-entered the pale of pinch-beck civilization.

*Müang Sŭtr-nikhom-khet* (*Sūtra-nigama-kṣetra*) is the Siāmesese official name of the place, which now forms the headquarters of the *Ralūos* district. Formerly the seat of administration was farther up the little watercourse passing through here, at the village of Ralūos (or *Rolūos*),† from which the district became known. It had to be transferred some thirty years ago to the present site, where a village of about forty houses has since sprung up. The reason for the removal was to afford more ready access to boats ascending the little local stream. The village is situated, in fact, near the edge of the muddy flat periodically

\* See Aymonier, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., pp. 448, 471. While on this subject I may draw attention to another toponymic in such inscriptions, viz., *Pralāi Vāt*, which is not unlike *Wat Pālelai* or *Pārīlayaka*.

† This is the name of a tree (*Careya arborea* ?) yielding very light wood, used for making floats for fishing-nets (see Moura, *op. cit.*, t. i., p. 24).

flooded by the lake when at its flow. The district numbers some 13,000 inhabitants, and extends towards the east as far as the frontier post of Dān Ralūḥ which borders the French possessions.

In Khmēr the stream is called *Stung Raluos* or *Prek Raluos*. But a short distance up its embouchure from the lake lies—perched on piles—the almost insignificant village of *Kampong P'hluk*, "Landing of the Ivory," marking at the season in question the extreme limit of navigation. This was the place I had to proceed to in order to continue my journey by water.

It was 3 p.m. when I had, with great regret, to bid farewell to Dr. Stönnér, the genial companion of the few days passed together in roaming about the ruins of Kambojan grandeur. It was a touching adieu, such as might be given on the threshold of two different worlds. He was to remain in the fascinating world of archæological researches so dear to us both, while I was to return to the realm of brick and mortar, of whitewash and tinsel, the mongrel result of a new-fangled civilization badly grafted on the old local one.

Mounting one of the local bullock-carts waiting for me, and followed by three others, one of which was occupied by a petty official sent by the *Amp'hō* to accompany me to the landing-place and to help me embark, a most monotonous drive commenced through an equally monotonous plain full of pools of mud, and intersected by creeks of splashing mire almost like ink. Through these we had to wade sometimes axle-deep, and then, for a change, we would cross tracts of high coarse grass, all bespattered with mud. Southwards, in the distance, over the brown desolate moor, a green line could be descried, marking the low jungle margin of the Great Lake. Not far to the east lazily meandered the local apology for a watercourse which

" . . . baignant lentement la plaine languissante

Ne porte qu'une eau croupissante

Dans des marais fangeux que couvrent des roseaux."

By 5.15 p.m., as the day was about to close, we reached a blind offshoot of the Ralūos stream where the boat arranged for was waiting. It was one of the usual native roofed crafts, about 25 feet in length, and provided with three long oars worked standing, almost like those of a Venetian gondola. In a few minutes I and my belongings were safely embarked. Then, bidding farewell to the petty official and the cart-drivers who had accompanied me, I was off.

In about an hour a motley group of bamboo hovels, perched high upon poles above the miry banks, so to speak, of the river—answering to the name of Kampong P'hluk—was reached. It was already dark, and a brief halt was here made in order to take in some provisions—especially water and rice—for the trip. In the pale light of smoky, resinous torches carried to and fro by the villagers, these needful preparations were soon completed. The headman of the hamlet came to greet me, and brought the welcome news that the dreaded lake was perfectly calm: "*Rolok syngob*," he cheerfully informed me ("The waves have quieted down"); so that progress could be made at once, taking time by the forelock. I did not hesitate a single moment, and at once gave the order to start.

Whilst we were swiftly moving downstream, the kind-hearted headman shouted out for the last time a hearty godspeed, recommending me once more—this was about the tenth time—not to forget, by any means, after my arrival in port, to send back by the boatmen a *sambot* (letter or note) that might reassure him, as well as his superior authorities of Ralūos and Siem-rāb, of my having safely reached my destination. The good fellow was most anxious, I should say almost trembling, for my safety; and I could see that his mind would not be at ease until the longed-for *sambot* from me reached him. He felt, naturally, a good deal of responsibility weighing on his shoulders about the safety of my person, and had accordingly selected the most experienced and trustworthy boatmen his village

and neighbourhood could boast of. I am sincerely thankful to him for his painstaking exertions on my behalf, and regret the moments of anxiety the poor fellow must have passed on my account.

Meanwhile the Great Lake came in sight, ominously gloomy, but calm and silent as a garden-pond. A few more pulls, and we debouched into its wide expanse, turning round to the left so as to coast its eastern margin. It was now 8 p.m., and from this time the deity of the Thalē Sāb was arbiter of my destinies for as long as it pleased him or her. The die had been cast, and it was now an open question as to who should turn out to be the winner.

*To be continued.*

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting held in the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, January 30, 1905, a paper was read by S. S. Thorburn, Esq., I.C.S. (retired), late Financial Commissioner, Punjab, on "The Place of India under Protection," Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., LL.D., in the chair. Among those present were: Right Hon. Lord George Hamilton, P.C., G.C.S.I., M.P., Right Hon. Sir West Ridgeway, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., K.C.S.I., Sir Alfred Lyall, G.C.S.I., and Lady Lyall, Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Sir Charles Elliott, K.C.S.I., Sir Frederick Fryer, K.C.S.I., Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick, K.C.S.I., Sir Charles Ollivant, K.C.I.E., and Lady Ollivant, Mr. T. R. Buchanan, M.P., Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., Colonel J. W. Thurburn, C.S.I., Colonel and Mrs. Picot, Major Alexander King, D.S.O., Major Hon. Douglas Forbes-Sempill, D.S.O., Surgeon-General Lionel Spencer, C.B., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. H. F. Evans, C.S.I., Mr. C. W. Whish, Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Mr. S. Digby, Mr. T. Durant Beighton, Mr. and Mrs. F. H. Skrine, Mr. and Mrs. Aublet, Mrs. T. Sperati, Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Mr. J. W. Fox, Mr. Bomanji Jamsetji Wadia, Mr. S. J. McConechy, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. L. G. Maxie, Mr. Victor Corbet, Mr. Pennington, Mr. Arthur Santell, Mr. L. R. Dave, Mr. H. D. Pearsall, Mr. F. C. Channing, Mr. W. Wavell, Mr. S. D. Mohammad, Mr. Alexander Rogers, Miss A. Smith, Mrs. Y. T. Green, Mrs. and Miss Henli, Mr. S. R. Manga, Raizada Hans Raj, Mr. Safford, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. W. Martin Wood, Rev. J. F. Hewitt, Miss H. Malony, Mr. Anandi Persad Dubé, Mr. Musseldan, Mr. O. Reynell, Mr. Begnell, Mr. L. G. Chiozza Money, Mr. D. P. Arseculeratne (Ceylon), Mr. Sinha, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Sec.

MR. THORBURN, before reading his paper, said he would like to explain that he was not an expert, only a "man in the street," and chiefly interested in the Fiscal Question because he was deeply interested in India. All that he had attempted to do in this short paper was to bring together facts and arguments, which were accessible to everyone, bearing upon the probable position of India should this country adopt Protection. He had also ventured to draw what appeared to him to be an unavoidable conclusion from those facts and arguments. Personally, he regretted that conclusion, because all his life he had believed himself to be a Fair Trader, and even now, were it possible to devise a strictly limited and properly safeguarded scheme of Protection for some of our industries, he would welcome it, provided that it was drawn up on absolutely business principles, and, above all, was just to India. Amongst the silt brought down by the rivers of fiscal oratory and literature which had inundated the country during the last twenty months, there were to be found as many traces of India as of radium in the sea. Take, for instance, the speeches of those two great statesmen, Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain. It was while speaking in Edinburgh in October last that Mr. Balfour discovered that there was a

Fiscal Question connected with India. He then promised us a conference with the Colonies, and tacked on to that promise "and with India." On the previous Thursday, when speaking to his constituents in East Manchester, he had taken the precaution to draw up his fiscal ideas on half a sheet of notepaper, which sheet would be historical, and while mentioning the Colonial Conference, he ignored India. Not until a few weeks ago did Mr. Chamberlain discover India, when speaking at Preston, and then he only mentioned it when directly challenged, and said, with reference to the alleged injustice of our treatment of India, it was "a question of morals," and, further, that he was confident he should be able to arrange a tariff under which this country would take more of the products of India, and India more of the products of this country, in substitution for those which she now takes from foreign countries. Totalling up the words spoken by Messrs. Balfour and Chamberlain, it would be found that, out of a million words, fifty had been thrown to India. But, after all, India was the greatest asset in our Empire. Were we to lose India, we should lose our Empire and half our trade, and should gradually sink down into a position but a little better than that now occupied by Holland; whereas were we to lose our Colonies, our strength would hardly be impaired. So deeply did he feel the necessity of our being just to India that, in the coming elections, he personally would be prepared to give his humble vote and interest on behalf of that party—be it Radical, Conservative, or Labour—which would pledge itself to give India fiscal autonomy, a right possessed by the smallest of our Colonies, with a white population no larger than that contained in any ten acres of this city (London); whereas India, a continent with a population larger than that of Europe, has no such right, and is treated by us as our "tied house."

The paper was then read.\*

SIR CHARLES ELLIOTT thanked Mr. Thorburn for sending him a copy of his paper beforehand, but regretted that even with this assistance he was hardly able to understand the purpose of his title, or what fiscal measure he proposed. The title of the paper was "The Place of India under Protection," yet Mr. Thorburn told them that Protection for India would be impossible, and wound up by saying that he could not conceive of any statesman or any party in England agreeing to it. In his opening remarks Mr. Thorburn went more clearly for Protection than was to be understood from reading his paper, because he had told them that he would refuse to give his vote to anyone except those who would advocate complete Protection for India in respect of its own industries, and in that case he feared that Mr. Thorburn's vote would remain unpolled. Mr. Thorburn, in his description of England's past policy with regard to India, condemned it very strongly as wholly selfish, and spoke of the thralldom under which India had been held by our manufacturers, and of the injustice of not allowing India to have a free hand in the establishment of her own tariff. But it seemed to him it was never wise in any case of historical criticism to apply to the conduct of affairs in a past century—or even a past half

\* See paper elsewhere in this *Review*.

century—the sentiments of moral principles prevailing at the present time. He did not think anybody could read the history of our relations with India without feeling that the greater part of what Mr. Thorburn had said was undeserved. No European country, he said, would have treated one of its dependencies better than we had treated India. But though it might be thought now that our policy had been selfish and unwise, it was not considered selfish and unwise at the time, and he would appeal to Lord Reay to say whether, if comparison were made of our treatment of India with the treatment of Java by the Dutch, we should suffer by the comparison. To one passage in the paper serious objection must be taken by anyone conversant with the facts. Speaking of the gradual reduction of import duties until they were almost entirely abolished in 1879, Mr. Thorburn said: “Struggle as she (India) might for considerate treatment, she was as a child in the grip of a giant.” To speak of the reduction of import duties as having been due to want of consideration for India was unjust and mistaken. That reduction was carried out under the commanding influence of Sir John Strachey. He was at that time in close communication with Sir John Strachey, and he knew there was nothing further from his mind than the idea of being influenced by party politics or influences from at home. He was consumed with an absorbing passion for the good of the country, firmly believing that what India chiefly wanted was cheap food and cheap clothing, and he was of opinion that a step would be taken in that direction by wholly abolishing the import duties. Sir John might have been wrong, and he might have thought too much of the consumer and too little of the producer; but however that might be, no one was entitled to cast a stone at him as being wanting in consideration for the people of India. As to a system of financial tariffs, he failed altogether to appreciate the line of thought in Mr. Thorburn’s mind. He did not seem to have realized the way in which a system of this kind would operate. They had read that morning of the German commercial treaties conceding, in return for the raising of the import duties on grain, the right to levy higher import duties on the manufactures of Germany. The preferential tariff system, he imagined, would act in precisely the converse way. The representatives of any two countries would consider what mutual concessions should be made, and what either could give to the other without suffering any loss which would not be compensated by benefits. Mr. Thorburn complained that so little had been said about India in this discussion on preferential tariffs, but that probably was due to the fact that the people who were most concerned in it, who had given special attention to the proposal so far as it concerned India, had been to a certain extent snuffed out by the disapproval of the Government of India. That seemed to him to show that, though the idea of a preferential tariff might be a thoroughly fair and just one, if the countries concerned did not see their way to striking a bargain, *cadit quæstio*, and the thing was at an end. With regard to the scheme he had put forward in the *Empire Review*, Mr. Thorburn opposed it, as he understood, principally on two grounds. One was that, though the tariff manipulation proposed would certainly promote British trade, it would only do so at the expense of India.



He could not think how Mr. Thorburn could have written that sentence, having already told them that the abolition of the heavy duties on tobacco, tea, and so forth, would be a benefit to the country. He thought what Mr. Thorburn really meant was that, whilst such tariff manipulation would certainly benefit both Indian and English industries, it would do so with a certain degree of risk as regards India—a risk which weighed so heavily on the Government of India that they thought it closed the possibility of all discussion. That risk, however, seemed very much less serious to the financial member of the Council, Sir Edward Law, and in the paper referred to, he (Sir Charles) had attempted to show how extremely unlikely it was that foreign countries would put on such hostile tariffs as would prohibit the imports of articles on which a large proportion of their population were dependent, either for consumption or for manufactures. With regard to Mr. Thorburn's other objection, that the benefit to be conferred on India was very small, he quite agreed that it would not be very great, and his scheme was never put forward with the assertion that it would do anything very considerable towards promoting Indian industries, but he thought it went considerably further than Mr. Thorburn admitted. As to tobacco, for instance, Mr. Beighton, in an excellent paper read before the Association at the previous meeting, had dealt with the prospects of the extension of tobacco cultivation, and pointed out that both the cultivation and manufacture of tobacco might be improved with immense benefit to India if a fresh market could be found by the reduction of the duty in England. Then with regard to tea, Mr. Thorburn maintained that the only effect of the abolition of the duty would be to benefit a handful of Anglo-Indian planters; but what did he say as to the hundreds of thousands of coolies who were engaged in producing tea in parts of India which had previously been jungle, and were now centres of habitation? Was there nothing to be said for the benefit accruing to them from having been taken from the crowded districts of Bihar and the Upper Provinces and this new employment having been found for them? It was surely a mistake on Mr. Thorburn's part to decry that because benefit was also conferred on a small number of planters. What Mr. Thorburn had said reminded him of the attitude of some Indian papers towards the Dufferin Fund. Disregarding the medical benefits conferred on women and children these writers attacked the fund because it afforded employment to a number of English and Eurasian women. "It is not unlikely," said Mr. Thorburn, "that India will block the way against any common scheme of tariff revision"; but there could be no such common scheme, as all tariff revision must be confined to the two contracting parties, and each system of tariffs would stand or fall separately. A preferential tariff would be a different thing with India from what it would be with Australia, South Africa, or Canada, as a preferential tariff must vary according to the differing conditions of trade of the countries concerned. But though he differed so much from Mr. Thorburn in many points, he agreed with him heartily in his desire to encourage diversity of occupation in the passage in which he said: "To give the real 'India' that variety of livelihood without which, in spite of roads, railways, and irrigation canals, scores of millions

must suffer at short intervals from the effects of scarcity and famine, she must have flourishing home industries." Ever since the report of the Indian Famine Commission of 1898, in the writing of which he had some part, he had never ceased, in season or out of season, to preach that as the great panacea against famine and the great source of the prosperity of the country; but it must come slowly and by gradual and painful efforts, mainly on the part of the people themselves, and not to any great extent on the part of the Government. He saw no royal road to attain that end, and he did not think Mr. Thorburn saw any either. Possibly Mr. Thorburn would advocate a rigid system of Protection as the royal road, but the idea of such a system being allowed was really outside practical politics; and even if the results desired could be obtained by Protection, it was to be feared that as much injury would be produced by the establishment of that system as benefit created.

MR. BRIGHTON said that when he read Mr. Thorburn's paper he felt the same doubt as Sir Charles Elliott had just expressed as to Mr. Thorburn's own standpoint with regard to Protection. He was very much in the same position as prominent members of this Opposition, who found themselves quite unable to understand Mr. Balfour's attitude towards fiscal reform. When Mr. Thorburn spoke of the advisability of giving help towards "the protection of young industries," he appeared to be a fiscal reformer of a quite advanced type; but the whole of the last portion of his paper consisted of an argument that fiscal reform was impossible in India, because of the selfish sacrifice of the interests of India to those of Lancashire by successive English Governments. A great deal has been said of the despatch of Lord Curzon's Government on the "Question of Preferential Tariffs." He thought this despatch had been somewhat misunderstood, and that it did not contain the wholesale condemnation of the modification of Indian tariffs which had been attributed to it. He would, at any rate, like to draw the attention of the audience to a sentence in the second paragraph of the paper which he thought of great importance: "A reference to the terms of the resolution in question shows that the recommendation in favour of preferential tariffs was of an extremely general and indefinite character, and that it was hedged round with qualifications and provisos calculated to admit of almost any limitation, variation, or exception when applied in practice to the conditions of any particular Colony. There is nothing before us in the nature of a definite scheme on the suitability of which to Indian circumstances we can pronounce with confidence." Lord Curzon goes on to observe on the difficulty of determining on *a priori* grounds the practicability of a "general policy not clearly defined"; but, having regard to its importance, "we consider that the attempt should be made." Surely it was obvious that this introductory observation, which indicated clearly the difficulties felt by Lord Curzon's Government in examining an abstract policy with no definite data and no scheme before them, necessarily detracted very greatly from the value of the conclusions to which they had come, which could not have any finality. He thought also that, for a similar reason, the present debate, unlike those which usually took place at the meetings of the East India

Association, was of rather a shadowy and academic character. The discussion was, in fact, premature. Before they could come to any conclusion as to the suitability of Mr. Chamberlain's proposals to India, a definite scheme, or at any rate certain definite proposals, must be laid before them. This could not possibly be formulated until after the Conference with the various Colonies had met and come to some decision. Before the Conference met, at which no doubt India would be represented, he trusted that Lord Curzon's Government would appoint a Commission, consisting of eminent financial experts, as well as representatives of the principal industries of the country, with power to call witnesses and take evidence. Until this was done, no conclusion could be arrived at as to whether tariff reform on a considerable scale was practicable or desirable.

There was much in Mr. Thorburn's paper with which he found himself in agreement, although he thought the persistent attack on the Home Government went altogether too far. He quite sympathized with Mr. Thorburn in his reference to the treatment of Indian immigrants into the Transvaal and Natal, although he must confess—he hoped Mr. Thorburn would forgive him for saying—he could not see what this subject had to do with Tariff Reform. The subject of the Indian coolies was constantly cropping up at the meetings of the East India Association, like the head of King Charles I. in Mr. Dicks's memorial. Notwithstanding the constant complaints against the Home Government which pervaded the earlier part of the paper, and the Cassandra-like prophesies that the interests of India would never receive adequate consideration, there was a sudden *volte-face* towards the end of the paper, in which the lecturer said that the “era of unjust mandates probably ended in 1894,” and from that time India had been treated with fairness. In a previous page Mr. Thorburn had actually expressed satisfaction with the present cotton duties, in which he (Mr. Beighton) could hardly follow him. The paper was a most perplexing one, and, he ventured to think, was in some respects self-contradictory. He thought that public opinion in India, as becoming a more potent factor every year; the voice of India, as represented in the recognised organs of public opinion, received constantly wider recognition, and it was exceedingly unlikely that India, though she might never become the absolute mistress of her own fiscal destinies, would ever again see her interests sacrificed to those of the mother-country.

Sir Charles Elliott had anticipated what he had intended to say about the extraordinary observations of Mr. Thorburn as to the tea-planters. As he had repeatedly observed on public platforms, he thought the tea industry one of the most beneficent enterprises in India. But, apart from this, how could the tea industry be placed upon a different footing from other commercial enterprises where the interests of capital and labour must be more or less identical? The prosperity of the employer would be reflected in the higher wages of labour, or in the increased number of hands to whom work could be given. As he had stated at the outset, though the discussion was, he thought, premature, he would make one or two observations in which he thought some readjustment of taxation could be made in certain articles even under the existing fiscal conditions. Mr. Thorburn

had spoken of the taxation of Indian tobacco in England. He was well under the mark when he said it amounted to 250 per cent. of its value; it was more like 500 per cent. In his recent paper on tobacco, as some of the audience would recollect, he had advocated a rebate in England owing to the greater weight of Indian tobacco than that of other kinds, and he strongly advocated a 20 per cent. *ad valorem* duty, such as existed in 1862, on imported manufactured tobacco in India. These changes could be carried out without infringement of the present fiscal principles, and would bring a contribution of Rs. 10,00,000 (10 lacs) to the Exchequer. Then, again, as the able writer in the *Times* on Indian affairs had pointed out a short time ago, there was nothing contrary to the canons of Free Trade in putting an export tax on commodities of which the exporting country is the sole producer. The Governor of India's despatch contained a list of articles of which "India enjoys a practical, if not an absolute, monopoly," the value of which amounts to 16½ millions sterling, including jute, indigo, til, myrabolam, and opium. These could all bear an export duty, and when the sum so obtained was added to the 10 lacs, which he had ventured to suggest could be obtained from the enhanced duty on imported manufactured tobacco, a considerable amount would be available for the reduction of the salt duty—the most indefensible of all the burdens on the population of India.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said he only rose to say a few words, as the Chairman had asked him to do so, for his views were entirely in accord with the conclusions of the paper, and the opinions arrived at by the Government of India. He might claim to have anticipated those opinions, because in his letter of resignation a year and a half ago, which he wrote before he had received the opinions of the Government of India, he put in the forefront of his reasons his firm belief that no system of preferential tariffs or of retaliation could do otherwise than injure India's commerce. That opinion had been strengthened by everything that had passed since. People were, perhaps, a little too apt to look at this Tariff Question simply from the commercial side. Trade was, no doubt, an instrument by which the different parts of an empire would be bound together, but could only have that operation if its regulations were just, prescient, and unselfish. If the fiscal policy should be narrow and selfish, the operations of trade would be not towards consolidation, but towards disintegration. The policy of preferential tariffs and retaliation was based upon selfishness. The object, as he understood it, of tariff reformers was to prevent manufactured goods from foreign countries coming to this country, as everything that came in in the shape of manufactures from foreign countries took away from the employment of people here. But was that an argument which could bind together? If the argument was sound as regarded Great Britain, it was sound as regarded every separate fiscal entity, whether Canada, Australia, New Zealand, or India. We were to give preferential treatment to the Colonies because they had adopted a protective tariff to keep our goods out of the country. To allow India to adopt a protective system under which she would be in as favourable a condition to bargain with England as the Colonies was certainly not to be allowed, and therefore

at the very outset attention was called to the fact that India, being dependent, could not adopt that system which allowed the Colonies to claim preferential treatment. There was one part of the Government despatch to which no one had as yet alluded—viz., the effect that these proposals might have upon the national Exchequer. The position of India was a very remarkable one, because her agriculture and her fortunate conditions of climate and soil enabled her to produce very cheaply a gigantic amount of food and raw material, and it was never necessary in India—excluding, of course, Burmah—to import food from outside even in the worst of times. The price of food had always been so low that it would not pay as a commercial transaction to import food. Her ability to borrow money from this country for the purpose of improving railway communication had increased the quantity of raw material she could export, of which this country could not take much more than one-fourth, and the excess she sold to other countries. Every year the balance of trade between England and India was against India, inasmuch as we exported to her more goods than we imported, and every year she had to meet heavy obligations to this country, and this she effected by her sales of raw material to other countries. Just conceive what the effect would be if, by a clumsy effort to improve our fiscal system, we upset this great system. Every obstacle placed in the way of India selling her raw produce to this country would increase the amount of raw produce she would have to send abroad in order to pay her debt; and when it was considered what a frightful financial earthquake the inability of India to pay her debt would cause, even the most ardent fiscal reformer would, he thought, hold his hand before he had fully mastered the intricacies of international exchange. Mr. Thorburn had done but scanty justice to the motives which prompted the Government of India and the Government of England in their policy of abolishing the cotton duties. The three people who were responsible for that were the late Lord Salisbury, himself, and Sir John Strachey. In the presence of this distinguished gathering of Anglo-Indians, he would say unhesitatingly that Sir John Strachey was the ablest finance Minister India ever had. The idea of Sir John Strachey truckling to anybody when the welfare of India was at stake would be dismissed offhand by anybody who knew him. Sir John Strachey was of opinion that it was for the benefit of India to make India a free port, and he thought he was right, looking at the matter from the Indian point of view. Lord Salisbury and himself had to look at it from the English point of view. So long as there was perfect equality of treatment, as between two great industries situated in the same empire, no bad political feeling was raised, but the moment tariffs were introduced political complications arose. The duty in favour of India was only 5 per cent., but that 5 per cent. gave India an advantage over Lancashire. Supposing the case of two brothers, one with a mill in Lancashire and the other with a mill in India: the latter would have an advantage of 5 per cent., which was not very much. But what happened? Every Indian influence, including members of the native ports, clamoured and put pressure on the Indian Government to keep the 5 per cent. on; the Lancashire members here were imploring Parliament to get rid of that

5 per cent., and nothing in the whole course of his political career had impressed him more with the danger of this kind of tariff obstacles, and the bad feelings they created, and the disintegrating effect they had. There was nothing he looked back to with greater satisfaction than his having been able to get rid of that trouble, and to put the competitors on terms of equality. And what was the result? That cotton difficulty being at an end, when the famine broke out there was no part of England which subscribed so liberally as Lancashire, the competitors of the Indian manufacturers. He thought England might fairly say that in her treatment of India she had throughout been actuated by high and unselfish motives. They might have been wrong, but nobody who had been long at the India Office could come to any other conclusion than that England had treated India more generously than any other country had treated any dependency or colony. The one desire throughout had been to award her just and fair treatment, and, by bringing India into contact with the accumulated hoards of wealth in this country, to accelerate her progress and develop her industries.

MR. FRANCIS SKRINE said that the controversy as to India's status was the veriest hair-splitting. She was neither a dependency nor yet a colony, but an integral and indispensable factor in the British Empire. Her happiness and loyalty were far more important to us than those of any of the ring of republics which we fondly styled Colonies. Time was when we governed India by strictly commercial standards—when full play was given by our forebears to the “knavery and strength of civilization,” denounced by Erskine during the impeachment of Warren Hastings. That the old leaven had not yet disappeared was shown by the “mandate” of 1894. The speaker was glad to hear from Lord George Hamilton the secret history of that despatch. While the Government stood absolved of truckling to Lancashire, the fact remained that the “mandate” profoundly shook the confidence of Indians in British justice.

The East India Association was inspired by broader and less selfish considerations. It regarded Englishmen as trustees for the good government of India, and in its eyes the starving hand-loom weaver of Bengal ranked with the cotton princes of Manchester. Now, everyone was agreed as to the duty of India's rulers to relieve an overtasked soil by promoting manufactures. The lower classes were admirably adapted to the factory system, and if India had been given fair play she would long since have been self-supporting in the supply of all necessities of life. What were the facts? Cotton goods accounted for more than a third of her imports. In 1903-1904 she sent us £16,000,000 worth of raw cotton, and bought from us nearly £20,000,000 worth of piece goods. Did such a state of things commend itself to common-sense?

Indians were no longer inarticulate. There were many thousands who could think and speak for themselves, and Mr. Skrine ventured to aver that if the educated classes were polled, they would be, to a man, in favour of Protection, not only against foreign countries, but against the United Kingdom itself, which had killed indigenous industries by the score. Looking at India's sea-borne trade from another point of view, it was a signifi-

cant fact that only 27 per cent. of her exports went to the United Kingdom. Again, they consisted mainly of raw materials, which were necessary to England's existence as an industrial community, while the great bulk of Indian imports from the United Kingdom were manufactured goods. What fiscal advantage could we offer India which could compensate for the dislocation of her vast and growing trade with foreign countries? Sir Charles Elliott had suggested that the introduction of preferential tariffs in India would be a question of bargaining between the two countries. In view of the history of our relations with India, one might as well talk of a bargain between a wolf and a lamb! The speaker therefore heartily assented to Mr. Thorburn's conclusion—that India could not be included in any scheme of Imperial Tariff Reform.

SIR LEPHEL GRIFFIN said that, although it was contrary to the usual practice of the East India Association to pass resolutions at their meetings for the reason that the majority of those present were not members, it had been thought convenient on this occasion to frame a resolution which might give greater force to their deliberations, and be laid before the Government for their consideration. To secure the necessary unanimity, he had divested the resolution of anything of a party or polemical character, and he trusted that representatives of the different lines of thought of the subject of Fiscal Reform might unanimously accept the declaration now laid before them—viz.:

"That the East India Association desires to record its unanimous opinion that in the Imperial Conference on the Fiscal Question about to be summoned by the Government, India should be assigned a place proportional to her importance in the Empire, and that her representatives should include independent and influential members, English and Indian, of British India and Native States, adequately representing her more important interests and industries."

If, as Mr. Thorburn had mentioned, Mr. Chamberlain in one of his speeches had declared that preferential treatment for India was chiefly a moral question, members of the East India Association would, he thought, be quite willing so to consider it, seeing that fiscal questions between India and England were to be regulated by justice, which represents the highest ethics, this justice being complicated by many conditions and obligations affecting the two countries. All that the East India Association desired was that justice should be weighed out to India in any discussion of preferential tariffs. His own opinion was in favour of the views which Sir Charles Elliott had put forward, which, he believed, would prevail with people who knew India thoroughly, and were most anxious for her interests. Nor did he sympathize with the nervous dread of inquiry which seemed to be so common, nor with the fear of reprisals from countries which could reasonably expect nothing else.

Mr. Skrine had deprecated the use of the word "dependency," but, after all, India was a dependency, and a just assertion of her rights was now becoming more important and urgent, owing to the greater burden which was every day being placed upon her of the frontier defence of the whole Empire. That was a constantly increasing burden, and there was

no reason to believe it was likely to diminish. Under these circumstances, every effort must be made to develop the internal industries of India. With regard to the interesting opinion on the Fiscal Question that had been recorded by the Government of India at Simla, it was given on a telegraphic demand, hastily and under great pressure of work, and he had some reason to believe that the Government themselves were conscious that the opinion was superficial, and were prepared to revise it. There was every hope that the rights of India would not be ignored in the future, as they had unfortunately sometimes been in the past, though not to the extent that Mr. Thorburn had said. He had every hope that when this question should be fairly threshed out between the two Governments, treating the two countries on equal terms, India would receive its full measure of consideration.

SIR CHARLES ELLIOTT, in seconding the resolution, said he thought every member of the assembly would agree that India should be as fully represented at the Conference as the resolution proposed.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

LORD REAY said that no one could approach this subject without a very deep sense of responsibility, especially those who, like himself, had been closely connected with the question—a Governor of Bombay, having to deal with the trade of Kurachi, Bombay, and Aden—and it had given him great pleasure to find the policy of 1894, with which he was connected by association with Sir Henry Fowler at the India Office, approved by the lecturer. To do nothing in connection with this matter which could be in any way prejudicial to the interests of the 300 millions of their Indian fellow-subjects must be paramount to every other consideration, and his views as expressed here, or as he should express them in Parliament, did not therefore differ in any degree from the language he should hold if he were elected to one of the legislative assemblies of India. It was his firm conviction that any artificial trammels imposed upon Indian exports or Indian imports could only be detrimental to the trade and industries of India. No Protection was needed for the development of Indian industries. All the Indian industries wanted was the introduction of capital and the introduction of skilled supervision. They had in India a most important asset for the development of new industries—cheap labour. In addition, Indian industries were less exposed to the vicissitudes of English industries, such as strikes. There was absolute security for capital invested in India, and his own opinion was that nothing would be more dangerous than to introduce Protection, because sooner or later there would be a demand—perhaps at a critical time—to have these duties abolished. If Parliament determined that the duties ought to be removed, no Government could withstand the pressure, and in that case the condition of industries which had been artificially supported would certainly be precarious, and a financial crisis might be the result. With regard to imports into England, India, notwithstanding the high duty, which could not be permanently maintained, had almost a monopoly of tea, shared by Ceylon, and he would ask, therefore, What benefit would accrue from any preference being given to Indian tea? With regard to tobacco, he agreed that a readjustment of taxation



would be desirable, but, again, he did not see the necessity for any preference; and with regard to wheat, as had been pointed out in the despatch of the Government of India, the preference would be shared with the Colonies, and as regards India would have very little, if any, effect. Of rice, India supplies two-thirds of the demand in the home market. Raw materials exported from India obtain free entry into the more important foreign countries to the aggregate value of  $21\frac{1}{4}$  millions, and this somewhat exceeds 25 per cent. of the whole volume of exports; and he would like to ask where the statesman was to be found, where the financier was to be discovered, who would be likely to enforce on India a system which would jeopardize this trade, this trade being, as Lord George Hamilton had pointed out, absolutely essential to India to enable her to pay her debts. They were always told, whenever the preference theory was started, that it would not lead to the imposition of high duties; but were they prepared for the very trifling profit which would accrue to India from that preference to jeopardize the export trade of India, to expose her to Retaliation (for he had not the slightest doubt foreign countries would retaliate), and thereby disarrange her whole financial and trading system? As to the very able minute of the financial member of the Council, it was, he thought, evidently inspired by a friendly disposition towards the preferential theory, and made the conclusion he was obliged to adopt all the more effective. It was important to notice that the Government of India were more decided than their financial colleague, and very explicitly stated their opinion as to the impossibility of adapting the preferential system to India, and he could not conceive that the Government of India had come to that conclusion without great deliberation. There was an element in the discussion which was very seldom mentioned, though an element of very great importance—namely, shipping; and he thought if the representatives of that enormous interest were consulted, it would be found that they did not wish any interference with their trade, and that they considered that any artificial impediment to the freedom of the import and export trade would be detrimental to their prosperity. The shipping interest, however, had not been wholly overlooked, as there were some very interesting observations with regard to freights in the minute of the finance member of the Government of India. He would be the first to accept any means which could either improve the industrial situation of India or could cement the bonds which united us to her; but it was his firm conviction that any attempt to create artificial links between our trade and manufactures and the trade and manufactures of India would inevitably have the effect of producing friction rather than of tightening the friendly relations existing between the two countries. India should be allowed to buy in the cheapest market, and to sell in the dearest market. The purchasing power of the natives of India was very limited. He thought the Government of India were well advised when they warned the home Government against entering upon this new policy, which might involve India in a “set-back to her trade, her revenues, and her credit,” after “ten years of effort, sacrifice, and perseverance,” in which “a fair measure of public confidence in the stability of her finance has been slowly built up,”

and that Lord George Hamilton was absolutely justified in the policy he adopted, and from it he hoped his successors would not deviate.

As it was now 6 p.m., and the discussion was still unfinished, the meeting broke up, and Mr. Thorburn had no opportunity for reply. He writes: "I think in the address itself answers will be found to most of the criticisms. What I chiefly urged was that if this country adopts Protection, she cannot justly refuse it to India. All the speakers agreed that India must have justice, but no one explained how she could hope for it unless given a free hand in tariff matters. Without such freedom, the wolf would leave little for the lamb, as Mr. Skrine amusingly put it. As to Free Trade or Protection being better for India or any country, doctors differ. Each country must decide for itself the most suitable commercial policy in its own interests. There is force in the dictum that one man or country may be wiser than any other, but not than all others; if so, where does the wisdom of Free Trade come in, seeing that all the world is Protectionist but ourselves?"

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The following letter has been received since the meeting was held :

I gladly seize on one passage in Mr. Thorburn's most instructive paper, which might well be engraved over the portals of the India Office—viz., that "*the taxation of salt is economically indefensible.*" The case is really worse than that, for it is also *morally* indefensible, but one must be thankful for small mercies in the way of admissions.

What sort of trade freedom do we grant to India, after all? She cannot have free trade in salt, the most necessary of all commodities, and her people must "die like flies" because she is not allowed to keep her army within reasonable bounds, or even to raise a revenue by the legitimate means of an import duty on cotton goods. Is Lancashire cotton a necessary of life to the people of India? On the contrary, the home-made cotton goods, even if somewhat dearer in money price and not quite so well finished, are probably more durable, and, therefore cheaper in the end.

Of course, it may be said that the people of India are not *compelled* to buy English goods, and there is actually a movement on foot for encouraging the use of home-made goods of all kinds and boycotting Lancashire cottons, which may yet come to something, but it requires some assistance from the tariff. In the same way in this country no one is *obliged* to drink foreign wine, and I would respectfully suggest to the tariff reformers that they should devote some of their superfluous energy to establishing a boycott against foreign wines in general, and champagne in particular. Unless such foreign wine is undoubtedly superior, as to which I am not concerned to express any opinion, there is no reason why the British public should not confine itself to British wines from purely patriotic motives. I dare say they would be quite as good for them in the long-run, especially if it ended in their giving up all wine, as it probably might. So, again, the people of India *might* boycott English salt; but if it is both cheaper and better they are not likely to do anything of the kind, and it ought to be our first object to make it as cheap as possible, and so get rid of the reproach that we

sacrifice perhaps a million lives a year (I don't guarantee Mr. Váman Bábaji Kulkarni's figures) for the sake of 5 millions a year.

I do not feel competent to discuss the general question, but I can never believe that restrictions on trade and much more vexatious Customs duties are likely to increase the bulk of it.

J. B. PENNINGTON.

#### THE POSITION OF INDIA WITH REFERENCE TO THE FISCAL QUESTION.

The following letter has been sent by the East India Association to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India, and has been duly acknowledged :

WESTMINSTER CHAMBERS,  
3, VICTORIA STREET,  
LONDON, S.W.,  
*March 14, 1905.*

TO THE RIGHT HON. W. ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M.P.,  
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

SIR,

By desire of the Council of the East India Association, I have the honour to forward for your consideration the following resolution of the Association, passed at a meeting on the 30th January last, to consider the position of India with reference to the fiscal question now under discussion.

On the motion of Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., seconded by Sir Charles Elliott, K.C.S.I., a resolution to the following effect was carried unanimously : The East India Association considers that, in the proposed Imperial Conference on the fiscal question about to be summoned, India should be assigned a place proportional to her importance in the Empire, and her representatives should include independent and unofficial members, English and Indian, of British India and Native States, adequately representing her more important interests and industries.

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your obedient servant,

C. W. ARATHOON,

*Honorary Secretary.*

The following is the correct report of Colonel C. E. Yate's observations in the discussion at the meeting of the East India Association, on Tuesday, December 13, 1904, on the paper read by Sir W. Mackworth Young, entitled the "Progress of the Punjab" (see our last issue—January, 1905—pp. 169, 170):

COLONEL C. E. YATE said that, not having been in the Punjab Administration, he did not come within the category of those qualified to speak; but when he heard Sheikh Abdul Qadir bemoaning the loss of the power of appeal on the part of the inhabitants of the new North-West Frontier Province, he felt bound to express his dissent with such views. In his opinion the curtailment of this power of continued appeal in judicial cases was one grand hope of salvation for the frontier tribesmen, and if any justification for the policy of the separation of the frontier province from the Punjab could ever be required, this very curtailment of appeals would of itself amply suffice. He would also beg the audience well to consider the weighty words that had fallen from Sir James Lyall as to the inapplicability of the laws and codes of what might be called a regulation province to the people of the wild tract now known as the North-West Frontier Province. Sir Lepel Griffin had indeed told them that the prosperity and progress of the frontier tribesmen depended upon their retention in the Punjab; but, considering the vast disparity between the Punjabi and the frontier tribesmen, he was of opinion that the prosperity and progress of the tribesmen was just as likely to be increased under the present administration, which was able to concentrate its whole efforts on their needs and wants, as under the Punjab, if not more so.

## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

## THE VALUE OF THE RUPEE.

SIR,

Under the heading of "The Value of the Rupee" there is an article in the *Friend of India* of November 3 last, in which certain opinions contained in an article of mine in your issue of October last\* are found fault with as most extraordinary, etc.

In its anxiety to find fault and to prove itself right, that journal clearly contradicts itself in first saying that the payers of the old taxes, or, rather, of such of them as are fixed sums of rupees, have had to make good in its entirety a deficiency arising from the fall in the intrinsic value of the rupee, which the Government must otherwise have met by imposing new taxes, and subsequently acknowledging that extra taxation has not been imposed. The question thus arises: "How, and from what source, has the deficiency been made good by the taxpayers?" They pay the same number of rupees as before, and, to use the *Friend of India's* own words, "it cannot reasonably be said that the aggregate burden of taxation has been increased." How, then, has the deficiency been met?

I have maintained, and still do so, that it has been met out of the profits of merchants, foreign as well as English. How were the rupees required to pay for exports from India found? They were found in the days before the present currency policy was invented by bullion being paid into the Indian mints, and rupees being paid out minus mintage charges. By that policy the coinage of rupees was stopped, and fewer rupees thus being available, they became less plentiful and dearer. The difference had to be paid for, and could only be met out of the general profits of

\* See article "Some Economic Aspects of British Rule in India," pp. 309-322.

trade or by taxation, for there were no other sources, and as already stated, the people of India were not taxed with a view to such payment.

The value of the rupee in India has not been depreciated, for it buys as much Indian merchandise as before. It is only when it has to be sent out of the country, being weighed against gold for that purpose, that it fetches less gold than previously. An Indian purchaser has only to provide more rupees if he buys imported goods valued in gold. This hoarded wealth in silver has, therefore, not depreciated, unless he wishes to exchange it for the latter or to pay for goods valued in it.

In the same article the *Friend of India* meets my arguments in favour of the export of surplus produce from India by saying that an overwhelming weight of authority proves that the value of that produce, if not exported, but left for consumption in India, would diminish, and the people would be able to buy and pay for more for their own consumption. I admit that locally and temporarily this might be the result, but as the value of such commodities is not regulated as a whole by the laws of local demand and supply, their general value in the world would soon restore the balance, and they would be wasted if not allowed to circulate.

The hoarded wealth consisted of silver bullion in the shape of silver ornaments, and cannot be said to be depreciated as long as it will exchange for an equal weight of the same metal. This has nothing to do with its value as current coin—*i.e.*, as capable of purchasing Indian commodities—any more than the English silver coinage is depreciated because its value as bullion is far less than its nominal currency value. The Indian rupee, under the present circumstances of a large supply of silver in the world, is similarly a token coinage, and as far as the internal commerce of India is concerned, maintains its token value. The position of the Indian taxpayer is not affected, but anyone dealing with him from outside has to pay more or

rather dearer rupees, which he can to that extent make him pay for by charging him more for imported goods valued in gold, but no more, for at that point he is met by foreign competition. He must make his profits out of the trade conducted under these circumstances, and can make no more, for there is no other source open. Is it not clear that, if it were not for the extra cost of procuring rupees, the merchant would make as much more profit, and consequently pay for the increased currency rupees out of the general profits of his trade, which are by so much reduced by the invention of the new currency policy?

A. ROGERS.

March, 1905.

#### CHINA AND TIBET.

I have pleasure in replying, to the best of my ability, to the Rev. J. D. Bate's courteous letter on pp. 179, 180 of your January issue.

As to the word *Sinim*, which occurs in Isa. xlix. 12, as Mr. Bate states, it has never yet been ascertained what exactly this word may mean, beyond that it is an ethno-territorial designation. Mr. Bate adds: "But all recent scholarship inclines to the opinion that *China* is the 'land' alluded to, and still more that the word 'China' is etymologically akin to 'Sîn,' the form, in the singular, of this word *Sinim*."

"All recent scholarship" is rather a vague term. I gather, however, from inquiry made, that Sir Henry Rawlinson is certainly not one of the alleged recent scholars. Whoever the recent scholars may be who believe this strange thing, I shall, if they will oblige me by stating the evidence on which they believe, have great pleasure in disproving the genuineness of such supposed evidence.

I speak above only of the identity of *Sinim* with *China*. But I quite agree that the various Western forms—*Shina*, *Tsina*, *Thina*, and *China*—may very likely be etymologically connected with the Ts'in dynasty of China (B.C. 213),

or (more likely, I think) with the Tsin dynasty of China (A.D. 300-400). Hence my remarks (often made by me during the past thirty years) to which Mr. Bate takes exception in the letter just cited.

E. H. PARKER.

18, Gambier Terrace, Liverpool,

February, 1905.

BRITAIN, RUSSIA, AND JAPAN.

SIR,

The finding of the North Sea Commission bears out the opinion I expressed under the above heading in your January number\*—that diplomatists like ours, instead of carrying matters to extremes in their clumsy way, would have done best to profess themselves satisfied at once with what Russia offered, and make a show of taking it for granted that the guilty would be punished.

It will be remembered that the most strenuous apologist of the Ministry, the *Daily Telegraph*, was up in arms when first the wisdom was called in question of submitting our national honour—categorically declared by Mr. Balfour at Southampton to be involved—to the judgment of foreigners; it pronounced that even to suggest the possibility of a verdict adverse to this country being found, in the teeth of the overwhelming evidence available, was “not only to strike at the root-principle of the Hague Convention, but to proclaim that all diplomatic relations are a ghastly mockery.” And when the Commission began its sittings, the same paper thus pictured the sequel to such a verdict: “Courts of inquiry will lose all prestige and confidence, and will cease to be effective substitutes for the brutal and inhuman arbitrament of war. The clock of civilization and progress will have been put back, the hopes founded upon the institution of the Hague Convention will be quenched for at least a generation, and perhaps for ever.” The inference it wanted people to draw from all this *reductio ad absurdum* was plain: since such things could not be, the

\* See pp. 180-183.



Government had done perfectly right to appeal to the Hague.

The event has woefully falsified the *Telegraph's* estimate of the redress to be obtained in the manner laid down there, for, as the *Figaro* points out, "the labours of the Commission have ended merely in the confirmation of the offer of compensation made by Russia in October," while the verdict, in the words of the *New York World*, "is really a vindication for the Russian officers." The net result, moreover, is the international decision that a foreign belligerent is at liberty to come out of his course into waters under our protection, right up to a fleet of vessels at their usual anchorage, to make every preparation for giving battle in their midst, and even, it would appear from the very ambiguous expressions used, actually to open fire among them if the slightest excuse is forthcoming. The safety of our merchant marine, the main thing at issue, has been given away in the name of the Hague Convention; and, to add insult to injury, we are expected to consider the decision in our favour, because on some entirely secondary points, such as Admiral Rojdestvensky's failure to inform us of the damage done, he has been mildly remonstrated with.

As for "the prestige of arbitration in general, and of the Hague Convention in particular," no wonder "doubt is felt" at Vienna, as the *Morning Post* correspondent there writes, "whether this demonstration that international verdicts under the auspices of the Hague Convention can be trimmed to spare political susceptibilities will contribute towards increasing" the weight and influence of international tribunals!

R. G. CORBET.

March, 1905.

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THE HON. SIR LEWIS TUPPER, C.S.I., K.C.I.E., ON  
LITERATURE.

Sir Lewis Tupper, as Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University, delivered an admirable address at the Convocation held on December 23 last on "The Study of Litera-

ture." His important observations—specially addressed to students who had passed their degrees—were upon the various developments of Western literature, but he made the following very suggestive remarks in reference to the study of Sanskrit literature :

"Sanskrit is eminently an original literature. The Vedas may stand midway between an Indo-Iranian period and that of classical Sanskrit, and in Sanskrit literature it is possible that traditions and ideas may have been carried on from a time when Persians and Indians were still one people.\* But Sanskrit literature has had a development entirely its own, and, as compared with the literatures of the West, in this resembles Greek literature only. I am aware that it has been suggested that the great Indian epics were affected by the 'Iliad' and 'Odyssey,' and that the Indian drama owed its origin to the representation of Greek dramas at the Courts of Greek Kings in Bactria, in the Punjab, and in Gujarat ; but the better opinion seems to be that there was no such connection in either case. Pythagoras and some other early Greek philosophers, the Neo-Platonists and the Christian Gnostics,† may have owed much to the East. But of Sanskrit literature and Greek literature I think this at least may safely be affirmed—that they owed no considerable part of their texture and colour to any other literature whatsoever, and that they were not profoundly influenced in form and idea by any previous or foreign intellectual force, as Latin literature was influenced by Greek literature, and as modern European literature as a whole has been influenced by Greek and Latin literature combined. If this view is sound, then it surely has a certain scientific importance. If in the growth of intellect, as in biology, there is an analogy between the development of the individual and the evolution of the race, then the study of the early beginnings of literature and, later on, of its

\* For the subject discussed in this paragraph, see "*A History of Sanskrit Literature*," by Professor A. A. Macdonell, pp. 7, 55, 56, 408-427.

† Macdonell, pp. 422, 423.

truly spontaneous elaboration, should contribute to that reconstruction of psychology, with the aid of evolutionary theory, of which there are at present many signs in the philosophic world."

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#### THE FOURTEENTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS.

This Congress will be held in Algiers, beginning on April 27, and ending about May 4 next. The subjects of papers are arranged under the following heads : (1) India : the Aryan and Indian languages ; (2) Semitic languages ; (3) Arabic, Turkish, and Persian languages ; (4) Egypt ; African languages ; Madagascan ; (5) and (6) the East and Far East ; (7) Archæology—African and Mussulman art. There will be delegates or representatives from almost every country in Europe and the United States of America. For minute information regarding places of meeting, routes, and charges, communications should be addressed to the Secretariat of the Organization, 46, Rue d'Isly, Algiers. The Congress is under the distinguished patronage of the Governor-General and Deputy Governor-General of Algeria. The President of the organization is the well-known Orientalist, M. René Basset.

In our July issue there will be a full and interesting report of the Congress by our distinguished correspondent, Professor Montet, of Geneva.

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#### PRIMARY EDUCATION IN THE PLANTATIONS OF INDIA AND CEYLON.

In our last number we announced that the Secretary of State for the Colonies had come to a decision with regard to the establishment of schools for the children of Tamil immigrants employed on Ceylon plantations. This included the starting of central schools where convenient, and it was understood that a strong hint would be given to the planters that, unless they took steps to establish voluntary schools, the local Government would feel compelled to consider the advisability of starting schools near the refractory estates, to which the owners thereof would be compelled to contribute. In British Guiana it is made a penal offence for a planter to employ an illiterate child, so that the planters naturally put

every facility in the way of the children learning to read and write. Moreover, no child under the age of nine may be employed, whereas in Ceylon children of six years are sometimes seen at work.

In answer to a question in Parliament early in March, Mr. Lyttelton announced that a further delay has taken place in the carrying out of the reform which has been so persistently advocated by Mr. A. G. Wise in our pages and at public meetings in London. The Governor of Ceylon has informed the Colonial Office that he has appointed a special Commission to deal with the whole subject of coolie education on tea estates. This is somewhat surprising, as only a few months previously Mr. Lyttelton stated that there was enough information to enable him to come to a decision, and it is not quite clear, therefore, why the authorities on the spot require further particulars in addition to the numerous and voluminous documents, official and other, which have lately been prepared on the subject.

Mr. Wise has been pressing for a similar reform on Indian plantations, especially in Assam. Lord Curzon has, it appears, recently furnished a report, in which he says special inducements are to be offered to the parents, so that they may send their children to school. What the nature of these inducements is has not, however, as yet been made public. Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggee, M.P., has been asking questions on the subject in the Imperial Parliament.

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Mr. Brodrick has lately transmitted to the Government of India a suggestion by Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggee, M.P., that proper means be adopted to furnish vernacular primary education for the children employed, or resident upon, tea-gardens in Assam. The coolies so employed are mostly aborigines from a distant country—Sontals, Hos, Kols, Mundaris, and others of a similar type. They have no written language of their own, and, if instruction is to be imparted to their children, it could be only through the medium of the Assamese language. There would probably be little difficulty in obtaining suitable Assamese teachers. The question has been brought at various times before the Planters' Association, but no serious attempt has yet been made to provide any adequate, or systematic, education for this class. These immigrants are mainly recruited from the aboriginal tribes in Chota Nagpur and the Central Provinces, and although they go to Assam nominally for three or five years, more than one-half (from Chota Nagpur, at least) do not return, but settle down in Assam. In some cases the planters have encouraged the establishment of schools on their estates. It now remains for the Government of India to give active encouragement to this reform, care, however, being taken to provide such a simple course of instruction as will not unfit the coolie from following an avocation for which this primitive, simple, and ignorant folk are well fitted. Their market value, it may be added, does not exceed from four to six rupees per month. There are 637,153 coolies employed on the tea-gardens, of whom 242,198 are children. In connection with this subject may be quoted the words of Sir Denzil Ibbetson, Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces of India,

who thus states the cases : "What it is most desirable to give the son of an actual cultivator is ability to read and write sufficiently, a knowledge of arithmetic, *after native methods*, such as will enable him to follow his accounts with his shopkeeper and landlord, some familiarity with the manner in which his rights and liabilities are recorded, and such general development of his intelligence as will result from the use of judiciously-framed readers, and perhaps some simple object lessons." Any more ambitious scheme applied to plantation labourers would doubtless be fraught with danger and ultimate failure. In Ceylon, at least, the curriculum at the grant-in-aid schools has been, perhaps, of too elaborate a character, and will probably, in the near future, be made simpler, and better adapted than is the case at present to the needs of the Tamil coolie population. That the parents in India have not shown a very great anxiety for this reform should not deter the Government from making facilities for education (in the vernacular) more generally available to the masses ; the whole subject resolves itself chiefly into a question of expenditure.

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The following is reported in the *Times* of March 21, 1905; p. 7, col. 4. Replying to a question put by Mr. Schwann in the House of Commons on the previous evening, Mr. Lyttelton said : "The Governor has found it desirable to appoint a Commission—(a) to consider how the suggestions of a Committee appointed in 1901 can be given effect to ; (b) to suggest any other practical means of meeting the cost of elementary education ; (c) to deal with the question of coolie education and grouping estates, for school purposes. The members of the Commission are : Mr. Wace, Government agent, Central Province ; Mr. Harward, Director of Public Instruction ; the Rev. H. Highfield, Principal of the Wesley College ; Mr. D. B. Jayatilleke, Principal of the Ananda College ; and Mr. T. C. Huxley, planter."

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS; EDINBURGH AND LONDON, MCMIV.

1. *The Sikhs*, by GENERAL SIR JOHN J. H. GORDON, K.C.B., with illustrations by the author. A well-written and fascinating work. The author truly states that among the various visitors to London at the celebration of the Coronation of the King, the appearance of the Sikhs was conspicuous—"tall, bearded, dignified-looking men, intelligent and keen observers." Half a century ago they were foes worthy of our steel. They belong to a brave and martial race. General Gordon has given a short and most interesting history of their origin and religion. The Sikhs, once our enemies, are now one of the most loyal and hearty subjects of our rule in India. The illustrations are numerous and well executed. The author states that the Sikhs are no longer illiterate, as they were in the old days, when they despised the pen and looked on the sword as the one power in the land. Now they see that the pen is sometimes the more powerful of the two, and at least that education does not weaken the hand that wields the sword. Though nominally a minority—a powerful one—among the mass of the population of the Punjab, which, in fact, is more Muhammadan than Hindu, they are socially and politically of the highest importance, as they constituted the dominant class at the time of the annexation, and still form the great majority of the gentry in the regions of the Five Rivers. Their military aristocracy supply the Indian Army with excellent officers. Hence the importance and interest of General Gordon's narrative.

2. *The Outskirts of Empire in Asia*, by the EARL OF RONALDSHAY, F.R.G.S. This is a painstaking book of travel, and, interesting though it is, the wearied reader cannot help wishing it had been compressed into a smaller compass. The writer is too fond of words. He cannot speak of George III., but of "his most gracious Majesty King George III.," and the result is over 400 pages of solid letterpress, which few will care to commence, though the book will be found to be filled with valuable statistics when read.

The countries bounding India and its neighbours, and Russia and its dependencies, have been the scene of the author's travels. From Constantinople we are led through Cilicia—which, he says, is wonderfully well developed considering that it suffers every disadvantage of Turkish rule—to Aleppo, then down the Tigris to Baghdad. He points out the necessity of Britain controlling the country from Baghdad to the Persian Gulf, and discusses fully and fairly the question of the Baghdad railway, warning the reader strongly against Germanophobe feeling in England. He proceeded through Persia, and here he gives interesting glimpses at the sculptures at Tak-i-Bostān and the Bisitun inscriptions, and a full account of "Persia in 1903" with the anti-British "tariff reform" there. At Baku he touched

Russian territory, and saw the wealth of the oil-fields, and gives full and valuable statistics to show the magnitude of the oil trade, and then proceeds by the Transcaspian railway to Bokhara. Old Bokhara is well described, and the horrors of its prisons, before the Amir was left with only nominal independence by his Russian friends, touched upon. Samarkand is next described, and the journey to Semipalatinsk by tröika. A chapter on Kulja gives scope for an account of the Russian intrigues with Tibet under the Buriat Dorjjeff, of which we have heard so much lately. Central Siberia and Tomsk are treated of, and at the latter place the author was shown the house—now a shrine—where the Siberians believe the Tsar Alexander I. lived and died long after his reputed death in 1825. The drunkenness of the Russians is insisted on, and a somewhat pessimistic view is taken of their chances of improvement in this respect. The Siberian railway next comes under review, with the Russian occupation of Manchuria and the gradual acquisition of Niuchwang. An able account of the position of Britain, contrasted with that of Russia, in Turkey, Persia, Tibet, and the Far East, is given, and in his "Last Words" the author points out the British policy of guarding and strengthening the countries in the neutral zone between the Russian and British spheres of influence; the advantages of making railways therein for trade purposes, and the necessary increase of British influence in Southern Persia. The three chapters on sport—"Among the Ibex of Turkestan," "After Wild Sheep in the Siberian Altai," and "Sport in Mongolia"—will be of interest to every sportsman.—F. S.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1904.

3. *Europe and the Far East*, by SIR ROBERT K. DOUGLAS. Cambridge Historical Series, 1904, 8vo., 450 pp. This is a valuable and well-written account of the negotiations between the West and the Empire of China, which makes it easy for the reader to trace the gradual steps by which China has ultimately been forced to recognise the nations of Europe. China, commencing with the idea that it, as the "Middle Kingdom," was suzerain of the world—an attitude which its less civilized neighbours were quite ready to adopt—has only admitted the equality of other nations when forced to do so. In early times Western travellers in China were comparatively numerous. The Polos in the thirteenth century were followed by priests and traders, until the Ming dynasty, by its hostility to foreigners, completely closed the country. The Portuguese were the first to enter it, and in 1537 settled at Macao, and even planned an invasion "for the glory of God." This did not occur, however; but their priests began to teach with varying successes and vicissitudes. The Manchu dynasty on its rise favoured them, but grew unfriendly later, though the Jesuits enjoyed the protection of the Emperor K'anghsi. The Russians also, in the seventeenth century, tried to obtain entrance to China from the north, but on their trading facilities being refused, confined themselves to a steady policy of aggression in Siberia. The Dutch, in 1626, took Formosa; then the English appeared on the scene, and gradually a colony of foreign traders settled at Canton, always disliked by the

Chinese, granted no rights, and oppressed by the *hoppo*, or chief of the Customs. The constant oppressions only differed in degree, until, in 1792, the successes of the East India Company induced them to send Lord Macartney on a mission to China, and by refusing the *kotow* he made some impression of the power of his nation. Lord Amherst's mission of 1816 had less success, and the campaign against the importation of opium into China—which the author thinks was a genuine movement—added new elements of hatred against the foreigners, and eventually, in 1840, the first war between Britain and China began. When this ended in 1842, it left the British as recognised equals, with the island of Hong Kong ceded to them, and five ports opened for trade; and then America, France, and other European powers, profiting by Western success, also made treaties with China favourable to themselves. The question of admission into Canton led to the second Chinese war, in which Britain was joined by France, and aggravated by the Chinese imprisonment of the envoys Parkes and Loch. It ended by the occupation of Peking and the destruction by the British of the Summer Palace. So well did the Russian, Ignatieff, at this time play the part of *amicus curiæ* to China that he gained for Russia the whole coastline of the province of Primorsk. The Taiping rebellion, though suppressed by Gordon's help and Li Hung Chang's treachery, did not dissipate the hatred of foreigners or stop missionary riots, though at this time the Customs service in their hands was greatly improved.

The opening of Japan formed a new element in Eastern politics, and its awakening from its long sleep is admirably narrated by Dr. Prothero in his contribution to this book, "The Revolution in Japan." The outbreak of the China-Japanese War in 1894 caused in China the recognition of the complete equality of foreign powers, and a general desire for learning became prevalent. Railways and telegraphs were then constructed; but in 1889, following on the intention to exclude Chinese emigrants from Australia and America, anti-foreign riots broke out, and many missionaries suffered. In 1891 a fierce attack on the missions again began, and many lives were lost in the Yangtze Valley. Throughout the book we think the author favours the missionaries a little unduly. The Chinese have always been tolerant, and he quotes an edict of the Emperor Taokwang (1821-1850), which runs: "All religions are nonsense, but the silly people have always believed in ghosts and after-life; therefore, in order to conciliate popular feeling, we are disposed to protect every belief, including Christianity, so long as there is no interference with the old-established customs of the State." The aggressive conduct of the Roman Catholic missions has always given offence, nor can we think that all the publications of the "Christian Knowledge Society," which he cites, however much they may have enlightened China, have made for religious or civil peace.

The question of mastery in Korea led to the war with Japan in 1894 (its alleged barbarities on both sides are glossed over), which ended in the complete victory of the latter. The iniquitous and furtive chicanery of Russia deprived the conqueror of Liaotung, and paved the way for the present Russo-Japanese War. Real reforms, urged by K'ang Yuwei and others, were then favoured by the Emperor, who was therefore suddenly



superseded by the redoubtable Empress Dowager. The Boxer reactionary society appeared, and the murder of missionaries began *con amore*. The siege of the Peking Legations followed, and their relief being coupled with the unfortunate reprisals and the massacre of Blagovestchensk, tarnished European reputation sadly. This excellent book ends with the Anglo-Japanese treaty of 1902, and it contains chapters showing how China has in turn lost the suzerainty of Burma, Annam, Sikkim, and Siam, besides having learned, by sad experience, the power of the Western peoples.—F. S.

IMPRIMERIE DE LA MISSION CATHOLIQUE (ORPHELINAT DE T'OU-SÈ-WÈ)  
CHANG-HAI, 1905.

4. *Synchronismes Chinois: Chronologie complète et Concordance, avec l'Ère Chrétienne de toutes les Dates concernant l'Histoire de l'Extrême-Orient (Chine, Japon, Corée, Annam, Mongolie, etc.), 2357 av. J.-C.—1904 apr. J.-C., par LE P. MATHIAS TCHANG, S.J.* This magnificent work, containing well over 500 pages, is indeed a *vade-mecum* for those who are compelled to consult the Chinese histories in translation. One of the chief defects in the books on China put together by “arm-chair” sinologists in Europe is a lamentable shakiness in dates; but, with the assistance of Father Tchang’s lucid dynastic tables, it will now be possible for “specialists” who do not know Chinese to wield the scissors and paste-brushes with renewed vigour and dreadful accuracy; and not to tell us, as a recent writer on Tibet has done, that the Emperor K’ang-hi organized that country four years after his own death. The cyclic and (adjusted) Gregorian dates are given for a round period of 4,000 years, and the reigning Chinese or Tartar Emperors are ranged in parallel columns along with the Japanese, Annamese, Corean, Hunnish, Turkish, or other outlandish monarchs of the Chinese system, who, during the course of 4,000 years or more, may have been revolving round the Son (or Sun) of Heaven at the same time. The writer of the present notice has already made similar comparative studies on his own account, and for this reason may possibly be able to perceive one or two slight inaccuracies (more especially in Turkish affairs) which have excusably escaped the penetration of the learned Jesuit. He refrains, however, from pointing these out in detail—at all events, until the “arm-chair” gentlemen shall have carefully copied them, when it will be his privilege and delight to “jump upon them,” tear them, and rend them in due form.

The price of this splendid and laborious work is \$8.00 (Mexican), or, at the present rate of exchange, about 15s., and the book is well worth it; in fact, it is, from every point of view, “epoch-making,” and no sinologue—“arm-chair” or otherwise—should be without it.—E. H. PARKER.

5. *Calendrier-Annuaire.* This important work of 218 beautifully printed pages has not attracted the general attention justly due to it. Besides giving us a compendious comparative Chinese and European almanac, the learned Jesuit editor avails himself of the multifarious labours of his

distinguished *confrères*, and tells us almost everything about China that can be put into tabulated form. For instance, barometrical pressures, tides, moon's phases, provinces, population, temperatures, weights, measures, distances, sun's declination, mean and local times, dates, cycles, seasons, celestial movements, feasts, eclipses, occultations, planetary aspects, sunrise, sunset, altitudes, solar system, zodiacal lore, sidereal tables, earth's measures, degrees of arc, comparative time, geographical positions, floods, freshets, metric tables, converted tables of all nationalities, speeds, forces, magnetic charts, compass errors, areas, money values, exchange tables, sundials, 4,000 years of cyclic dates, B.C. and A.D.; post-offices, consular posts, foreign officials; treaty ports in China, Japan, and Corea; trade values and tables, revenue, meteorological registers and stations, tariffs, international posts, telegraphs, maps, charts, railways, missions (Catholic and Protestant), great events 1903-1904, typhoons, weather-charts, proverbs, and folk-lore: and all this for the petty sum of one Mexican dollar—say rs. 9d. It is the most valuable Chinese statistical publication procurable, and may justly be styled the "Chinese Whitaker." Every intelligent China merchant should order a copy to be sent home on the first day of each year.—E. H. PARKER.

CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY; SALISBURY SQUARE, LONDON, E.C.,  
1904.

6. *For Christ in Fuh-Kien*, being a new edition (the fourth) of the story of the Fuh-Kien Mission of the Church Missionary Society. The first edition of this well-known and interesting history appeared in 1877, written by Mr. Eugene Stock. Five years afterwards Mr. Stock partly rewrote the history. Since 1890, when the third edition appeared, the work of the Mission has rapidly increased. Hence the present and fourth edition. In 1890 the number of baptized Christians was 4,163, now they number 10,385. Communicants were 2,267, now 4,297; Chinese ordained men were 8 and unordained agents 224, now there are 15 ordained pastors and 224 other agents. In 1903, 998 adults were admitted by baptism; in 1890 the number was 196. In 1904 there are more than 10,000 baptized native Christians, besides 1,600 catechumens. In consequence of this remarkable progress, the present edition has been remodelled and almost rewritten. The volume also contains numerous illustrations of interesting objects.

CLARENDON PRESS (HENRY FROWDE); OXFORD, 1904.

7. *India*, by COLONEL SIR THOMAS HUNGERFORD HOLDICH, K.C.M.G., etc., with maps and small diagrams, "The Regions of the World" series, 8vo., 375 pp. A descriptive geographical work which is pleasant to read is not an easy thing to procure or construct, and Sir Thomas Holdich is therefore to be congratulated on his success in the present volume. In his short preface he intimates indeed that he was "carefully warned against statistics and details," and for more exact figures than he cites refers the reader to Sir W. W. Hunter's monumental "Imperial Gazetteer of India." In spite of this, however, the ordinary reader will find this book very

sufficient for his needs. It commences with a review of early India, and speculates upon the early geological changes and the Jurassic connection between India and the African continent. To this succeeds the tale of the slow growth of Western knowledge of India, first by the invasion of Alexander the Great, and then by Muhammad Kasim ten centuries later. The map of the Indus Valley of Ibn Haukel (A.D. 943-976) shows the gradual—if slight—diffusion of knowledge; but the West really knew little of India until the Portuguese voyages were followed by Dutch, French, and British ascendancy. An admirable geography of the frontier, partially derived from the author's unpublished notes, follows, divided into chapters. The first is on Baluchistan, the feudal tenure of which is well described, and the superiority of the Baluch to the Pathan is insisted on. Next comes Afghanistan, in which one is struck by the decadence of many cities—*e.g.*, Ghor and Ghazni—and the variation of old trade routes, and one notes that in this country the Helmund district remains still partially unsurveyed. The ethnographical difficulties regarding the Pushtu-speaking Afghan, who claims to be of the Ben-i-Israel, are touched but not pronounced upon; and the Mongol Shias—the Hazára tribes—are thought to be cognate to the Ghurkas. The magnificent country of Kashmir and the Himalayas next falls under review. That the isolation of Nepal since 1816 has kept it unexplored, so that even the routes are little known, is pointed out, and the importance of the hill-stations is fully recognised. Chapter V. deals with the geography of the rest of the peninsula, and is followed by that of Assam, Burma, and Ceylon, which the author rightly holds to be a geographical part of India. The author thinks that in the Burman the Mongol element has been much modified by contact with the Aryan Hindu, and finds it difficult to place the position of the Mongoloid wild tribes, like the Kachens, Katchyens, and Karens. To "The People of India" is given a fascinating chapter, which shows clearly the extraordinary variety of race and the difficulty of race classification. Chapters on agriculture and revenue, political geography, railways and climate, follow, and the whole work is interspersed with admirable maps, diagrams, and illustrative charts. It will be of use to everyone interested in India, and it finishes with an excellent index.—F. S.

8. *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Northern Dialect.* These two noble volumes (III. and IV.) complete the Coptic New Testament noticed on pp. 200, 201 of our issue of July, 1898. They contain, respectively, 633 and 590 pp. The third volume is preceded by a critical description of the original MSS. of all the Scripture-books from ROMANS to REVELATION—the half of the New Testament with which these two volumes deal. The said "description" is, in fact, an elaborate and profoundly learned treatise, and fills 68 pp. of close print in small type. The original Coptic MSS. contain marginal notes of much value (historical, critical, etc.), many of which are in the Arabic language. These notes are all transcribed and embodied in the footnotes in the work now under notice, and they extend throughout the four volumes. We have here, as in the previous brace of volumes, the Coptic text on the one page and the English translation thereof on the opposite page, the work throughout,

The footnotes contain, *inter alia*, numerous references to the original Greek MSS., and this according to the designations of those MSS. which have come to be universally recognized among Biblical scholars. Besides the said references, there are also the "Variae Lectiones" and numerous citations. The high standard of literary workmanship, to which reference was made in our former notice, is, in these closing volumes, well maintained. Of the manner in which this great enterprise has been carried through we find it impossible to speak too highly. The printing, binding, and arrangement of material are all of a very high order. It is a work for the learned, and, as we believe, it places the Coptic text of this portion of the sacred Scriptures on a sound footing for all time. Beyond this we have nothing to add to the notice already alluded to of the earlier volumes. If the Old Testament Scriptures in the Coptic language could be edited and printed in this same thorough-going style of workmanship, the boon would be great to the Coptic community, and the work would surely be hailed with delight by Biblical scholars, Jew or Gentile, the world over.—B.

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LUZAC AND CO. ; LONDON, 1904.

9. *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, by E. J. W. GIBB. This is Vol. III. of the great work which Mr. Gibb did not live to finish, but the carrying forward of the enterprise has fallen into good hands—those of Dr. E. G. Browne, a gentleman who has for many years past maintained a front-rank position among distinguished Orientalists. The volume consists principally of a translation into English of the poems of the Sulaymānie period and of the mid-classic age of the Turkish poets. This is followed by specimens of the poetry of the *late*-classic age in two chapters. Then, in an appendix, we have analyses of eight Turkish romances. The whole of the work is in English. No part of the original text is given, excepting the "first lines" of the poems translated in the volume.

The style of English is so perfect that the work may be ranked as a classic. The critical faculty is disarmed and soothed to rest. It is a pure pleasure to read such a work. Nor can we speak too highly of the method pursued by Dr. Browne in transliterating Turkish names and other words. The distinction between similar Arabic consonants is well marked, as also is the quantity of the vowels and the method of indicating the guttural letters. These, which may be described as the pitfalls and strategia which waylay the transliterator, are, with but few exceptions, so admirably attended to as to leave nothing to be desired. Of the Turkish it may be said as of the Arabic, that it is a language in which it is almost impossible not to rhyme. It naturally *lends* itself to the art of the poet. This is the more remarkable in that this same statement could not be made regarding any other language of the Shemitic family than Arabic, though the same observation holds good, to a large extent, of Persian.

A great many valuable footnotes run the whole length of this work; they are, mainly, critical and historical. If the readers of this work have already an interest in Islāmic literature, they will find it an advantage of great importance to a true understanding of the work. It is, in short,

a work for scholars rather than for beginners. If at the close of the series of volumes there should be a good index, guiding the student to the innumerable details embodied in the text and in the notes, it would obviously enhance the usefulness of the work, and would invest the whole subject with the fascination which belongs to it and with the interest which it is fitted to inspire.—B.

10. *Grammar of the Japanese Written Language*, by W. G. ASTON, C.M.G., D.LIT.; third edition, revised and corrected. The appearance of a third edition of this work (the first of which was published by the Phoenix Office in 1872) proves that the study of the Japanese language is on the increase rather than the decline, despite the fact that the Japanese themselves are mastering English with great success, and that most of the officers of H.I.J. navy and army make English a speciality. This new edition embraces the best information, and offers fuller explanation of many points of interest beyond other editions previously published.

In researching the pages, the student, however, will find it is a far more serious undertaking to learn to write than to converse in Japanese, if he aims at acquiring a refined and polite form of composition.

Mr. Aston's classification is excellent, his examples progressive. His additional chapter on "Prosody" throws much light upon the construction of poetry, from the simple thirty-one syllable *Hanka* and *Tanka* to the more elaborate methods of Oriental versification. By reason of this valuable addition, this Grammar should prove a handy compendium to "Japanese Literature" by the same author, for this last-named work embodies translations of many particularly charming specimens of Japanese poetry, ranging from the archaic period to that of the last century.

The chief difficulty to be overcome in studying Japanese is that confusion is often created through the introduction of Chinese words which have been incorporated into the language. These words, we are reminded, "far outnumber those of native origin"; but as the best literature of Japan is written in the ancient classical Chinese language, both must be studied at the same time. The task will amply reward all who aspire sooner or later to translate for themselves, for there is much that is beautiful as well as of historical interest, judging from what Mr. Aston and others have already deciphered.—S.

11. *Studies in Eastern History: I. Records of the Reign of Tukulti-Ninib I., King of Assyria about B.C. 1275*, edited and translated from a memorial tablet in the British Museum, by L. W. KING, M.A., F.S.A., Assistant in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum. The present volume is of special interest. It is a memorial tablet of Tukulti-Ninib I., the grandson of Adad-Nivari I. It supplements our knowledge of the history of Assyria and its relations with Babylonia during the early part of the thirteenth century B.C. The limestone tablet from which the text is taken was made by the orders of Tukulti-Ninib I., who had buried it as a foundation memorial in or under the wall of the city of Kar-Tukulti-Ninib, situated near the Tigris, between Kuyunjik and Kal'a Sherkat. The text contains an account of the founding of the city by the King and the building of the city wall, preceded by

a list of the military expeditions which he had conducted up to the time at which the tablet was engraved. From these records we learn for the first time the extensive conquest which had taken place to the north and east of Assyria. The volume contains the text of the original, well printed, important appendices, and a copious index.

12. *The Śrauta-Sūtra of Drāhyāyana, with Dhanvin's Commentary*, edited by J. N. REUTER, PH.D., LL.D., Lecturer of Sanskrit in the University of Helsingfors. "The Śrauta-Sūtra of Drāhyāyana," belonging to the Sāma-Veda, consists of thirty-one Paṭalas, each divided, as a rule, into four Khaṇḍas: three Paṭalas form one Adhyāya. It is closely allied to the "Śrauta-Sūtra of Lāṭyāyana" (edited by Ānandacandana Vedāntavāgiśa in his "Bibliotheca Indica"). The majority of the Sūtras are, indeed, identical with those of Lāṭyāyana, and in many cases only the distribution of the text on various Sūtras is different in the two works. On the other hand, there are many more discrepancies than would appear from the edition of Lāṭyāyana's Sūtras. The text of the present volume is accompanied by the complete Commentary of Dhanvin, compiled from fragments in various MSS. It is entirely independent of Agnisvāmin's Commentary on the Sūtras of Lāṭyāyana, and both will be found to form useful complements to one another whenever the two Sūtra texts agree. Dhanvin's Commentary claims special interest on various grounds.

The work is excellently printed in Devanāgarī type, the Sūtras in large type, accompanied by a Commentary in smaller type. Critical notes are added on the foot of each page, and full reference to quotations contained in the text and in the Commentary is given in footnotes.

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JOHN MURRAY; ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, W., 1904.

13. *An English-Persian Dictionary, compiled from Original Sources*, by ARTHUR N. WOLLASTON, C.I.E., His Majesty's Indian (Home) Service, translator of the "Anvar-i-Suhaili," editor of the miracle-play of "Hasan and Husain," etc. This, the second edition, is a great improvement on the preceding one. The adoption of a "v" in place of a "w" as an equivalent of the letter, (vāv) will be welcomed, as it represents the true pronunciation by Persians of all Persian and Arabic words commencing with that letter, such as vādī, varzidan, vazir, vā kardan, vā māndan, valāyat, etc.; as a medial, darvish, never darwish or darweish, divān, duvist, duvum, javāb, navvāb, etc. Many additional words not to be found in the previous edition have been added, and last, but not least, there is an appendix, consisting of numbers, the Abjad-Siyāk, Persian money, weights and measures; names of persons and places, and a comparative table of the Muhammadan and Christian eras. The type, both English and Persian, is clear, and the volume is got up in the publisher's usual neat style.

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GEORGE ROUTLEDGE AND SONS, LIMITED; LONDON. E. P. DUTTON AND CO.; NEW YORK, 1904.

14. *The Guide for the Perplexed*, by MOSES MAIMONIDES; translated from the original Arabic text by M. FRIEDLÄNDER, PH.D. The second edition,

revised throughout. It ought to be stated that this translation of this work of the great Jewish theologian differs somewhat in its contents from the former edition. Wherein the difference consists, and what may be the advantage thereof, the reader will judge for himself from the translator's preface. All who are acquainted with any of the writings of Maimonides (such as his "Reasons for the Laws of Moses," or what not) will be sufficiently acquainted with his style of workmanship, his manner of teaching, etc. In these respects the present work differs in nothing from the rest. It is primarily and pre-eminently a work for the theological inquirer, Christian or Jewish. It consists, in great measure, of explanations of difficult passages of the pre-Messianic Scriptures. The explanations are for the most part of a critical and theological nature, and it is just here that the helpful nature of the treatise is felt. The work is divided into parts, the first of which contains seventy-six chapters, the second forty-eight, and the third fifty-three. In a work of such bulk (pp. 11 + lix + 397) there must needs be a good index, for the details are innumerable. In this work there are *seven* indices: one index of the Scripture passages cited in the work, another of the citations from the Targumim, another of those from the Midrashim, and another of those from the Talmúd; then there is an index of references made to other works of Maimonides, and another to works of science and philosophy cited in the course of this treatise, the rear being brought up by a "general index" of matters arranged in alphabetical order. These indices are as elaborate as anything of the kind we remember to have met with, and they are highly helpful and time-saving. Primarily it is a work compiled by a Jew for *Jews*; the Christian reader will not expect anything in the book different from what might have been expected from a Jewish theologian. Besides such help as the indices afford, there is at the beginning of the book a very full table of contents, setting forth the topics dealt with in the numerous chapters of the work. The treatise is preceded, as is most fitting, by an account of the life of Maimonides, and this is followed by an introduction to the subject of the treatise, "The Guide for the Perplexed." The biographical sketch includes a detailed account of the numerous literary enterprises of Maimonides. It does not, however, tell us much concerning the life-story of this most interesting man; the reason appears to be that very little is known about him. No good Boswell haunted his movements. Born at Cordova near the middle of the twelfth century of our era, he lived before the writing of biographies developed into the important branch of literature which we in these days find it to be. After all, the main thing is the *teachings* of Maimonides, and these the present treatise helps us to understand.—B.

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SCHLEICHER FRÈRES ET CIE., ÉDITEURS; PARIS, 1904.

15. *Traité sur les Éléphants. Leurs soins Habituels, et leur Traitement dans les Maladies*, par Le Capitaine Vétérinaire, G. H. EVANS, A.V.D., Surintendant au Département Vétérinaire Civil de la Birmanie. Traduit de l'Anglais, avec Autorisation de l'Auteur par Jules Claine, Consul de France en Birmanie. This volume is a literal translation of Captain

Evans's unique work, and should prove most useful to those French colonies possessing elephants, and susceptible of employing them, and also to those who concern themselves with these interesting animals. There are seventeen chapters, and amongst the numerous subjects treated of are : gestation, diseases and their treatment, anatomy, etc. There are forty-one illustrations and eight plates, four appendices, and also a list of the principal works and periodicals which have been consulted.

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SMITH, ELDER AND CO.; 15, WATERLOO PLACE, LONDON, 1904.

16. *The New Era in South Africa, with an Examination of the Chinese Labour Question*, by Violet R. Markham, author of "South Africa Past and Present." Portions of this book appeared originally in the columns of the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, and some of the subjects discussed are : the present position, the task of repatriation, the land problem, the labour difficulty, the question of white labour and the Chinese solution, and finishes up with the prospects of trade and the natives and the Native Church movement. The writer on p. 31 says : "There can be no abstract enthusiasm in favour of the importation of Chinese workmen. Public opinion in South Africa was at first strongly opposed to any such action ; but since the pressure of hard facts has made it clear that the choice lies between imported labour and prolonged industrial and agricultural stagnation, public opinion has decided in favour of the former. The native will not work, and no one has suggested he should be coerced into doing so. The European, for a variety of reasons, economic and racial, cannot take his place. Hence, by a process of elimination, South Africa, slowly and unwillingly has been driven to adopt the one remaining alternative, unless she were to drift to the verge of bankruptcy." There are several appendices, containing a summary of the area and population of South Africa, East Africa, and German West Africa ; an estimate of the native population of South and Central Africa ; estimated labour requirements of the Transvaal ; and an analysis of the white and coloured population in the African Continent.

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#### OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

We have received a specimen of a cover and page of a Kufic Quran, reproduced from the one written by the third Khalif, Osman (644-656), and now in the Imperial Public Library in St. Petersburg (edited by S. PISSAREF, Nevsky, 90, St. Petersburg). This facsimile edition has been made by authority of the St. Petersburg Institut Archéologique. The pages, to the number of 706, which have been preserved, are the exact dimensions of the original ( $49\frac{1}{2} \times 67$  cm.), and reproduce perfectly the text and all the rich ornamentation in the same colours as the original. This MS. of the celebrated Quran of Samargand is considered by Mussulmans the oldest. It was the object of great veneration, as, according to tradition, the Khalif Osman was beheaded whilst reading this volume in the bazaar. Traces of blood are still to be seen on the original. Historians fix its origin at the end or the commencement of the second century of



the Muhammadan era. The edition is printed on ivory paper, and consists of a limited number, of which twenty-five copies are offered for sale at 500 roubles each.

*Linguistic Survey of India.* Vol. ii.: "Mōn-Khmēr and Siamese-Chinese Families (including Khassi and Tai)." Compiled and edited by G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., PH.D., D.LITT., I.C.S. (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1904.) The present volume deals with those languages of the Mōn-Khmēr and Tai families which fall within the limits of this Survey. The former are the oldest, and the latter are the latest, of the Indo-Chinese immigrants into India.

*Linguistic Survey of India.* Vol. iii.: "Tibeto - Burman Family." Part 3: "Specimens of the Kuki-Chin and Burma Groups." By the same author. The contents of this part were prepared by Dr. Sten Konow. The following groups are treated: Kuki-Chin, Manipuri or Meithei, Northern Chin sub-group, Central Chin sub-group, Old Kuki sub-group, Southern Chin sub-group, and Burma group.

*Linguistic Survey of India.* Vol. vi.: "Indo-Aryan Family." Mediate Group. "Specimens of the Eastern Hindi Language." By the same author. This volume comprises Awadhi, Kosali or Baiswari, Baghēli, Baghēlkhandi or Riwai, Chhattisgarhi, Laria or Khaltāhi specimens. There is also a map of the Dialects and Sub-Dialects of the Eastern Hindi language. (The above volumes may be obtained from Edward Arnold, Maddox Street, W.; Constable and Co.; Sampson Low, Marston and Co.; P. S. King and Son; Luzac and Co.; Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co.; Bernard Quaritch; Williams and Norgate, Oxford; and Deighton, Bell and Co., Cambridge.) These volumes are magnificent, and confer the highest credit and merit on the compiler, editor, and printer.

*Archæological Survey of India.* Annual Report, 1902-1903. (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1904.) This fine volume is the inaugural issue of a new "annual." The great want that has always been felt by the general public was the publishing of annual volumes like those issued by the Egyptian Exploration Fund, which are issued periodically, and embody the results of the previous season's work. A good account is here given of the past year's conservation, exploration, and research work carried out by the Survey, particularly where monuments of world-wide celebrity are concerned. There are thirty-four fine plates, besides numerous illustrations, plans, and sketches, amongst which may be noticed those of the tomb of Sidi Sayyad's mosque at Ahmedabad (before and after restoration), the mosque at the Gol Gumbaz at Bigjapur, the Black Pagoda at Konarak, several monuments at Agra, the Qil'a-i-Kuhna Masjid at Delhi, restorations at Ajmir, the Mandalay palace, etc., etc.

*Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Survey Circle, United Provinces and Punjab, for the Year ending March 31, 1904.* Part I. (Camp Branch, Government Press, United Provinces, September, 1904.) Also photographs and drawings referred to in the above Report. The amalgamation of the Archæological Circles of the United Provinces and

Punjab was effected in July, 1903, and this Report contains an interesting account of the work done. The photographs and drawings are very beautiful, well executed, and most interesting.

*Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of Western India for the Year ending June 30, 1904.* (Government of Bombay, General Department, Archæology.) This is the first Progress Report given in conformity with the instructions of the Government of India in 1903. It is divided into two parts: The *first* contains information and tables showing generally how the staff has been employed, a short diary of their tour, a statement of work done, and of conservation work carried out, also of museums and treasure-trove notes, and a programme for the coming season; the *second* contains descriptions of places and monuments visited, inscriptions thereon, and proposed conservation in each case.

*Report of the Director of Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency for the Year 1903-1904, with Supplement.* Printed at the Government Central Press, Bombay, 1904. This valuable Report deals with Collegiate Education, Secondary Schools, Primary Education, Special Classes and Instruction, the Administration, miscellaneous information and appendices, giving in the form of tables statistics of the distribution of schools, attendances, and other details.

With the twentieth part *The Survey Gazetteer of the British Isles*, compiled by Mr. Bartholomew, and published by Messrs. Newnes, has been brought to an adequate conclusion. As a slight illustration of its magnitude we may mention that it runs into nearly 900 pages, and there are, in addition, no less than sixty-four maps, constituting a comprehensive atlas in themselves. Important as is the dictionary portion of the *Survey Gazetteer*, which consists of some 50,000 entries—some of them running into half a page, and all so concise as to contain everything that is essential for utility as a mercantile or scholastic book of reference—the appendix will probably be more frequently consulted than any other portion of the work. The appendices, which number thirteen, include a number of tables which have not, so far as we know, been hitherto published together in one volume. The moderate price of 7d. per part has placed the work within the reach of everybody.

*Distracted Love, being the Translation of "Udbhranta Prem,"* by D. N. SHINGRAW, Member of the National Phonographical Society, London, etc. (Calcutta: *Weekly Notes* Printing Works, 3, Hastings Street.) The author, Chander Sekhar Mukerji, who is still living, wrote this charming little volume on the death of his beloved wife. The sentiments are gay and tender, mournful and reflective. There are also passages of rare beauty, and the pages are full of philosophy, poetry, wisdom, and man's hopes and despairs.

The Wisdom of the East Series. *The Religion of the Koran*, by ARTHUR N. WOLLASTON, C.I.E., translator of the "Anvar-i-Suhaili," author of an English-Persian Dictionary, etc., etc. (London: the Orient Press, 26, Paternoster Square, E.C.) This book contains extracts from the Koran taken from the translation by the late Professor E. H. Palmer, and published in 1880 in the Sacred Books of the East Series. To pious Mussulmans—

of whom there are 170,000,000 in the world—the Koran is the very Word of God, the true rule of life, and the source of all their hopes for the future. We can recommend the perusal of these extracts.

*A Handbook of the Ordinary Dialect of the Tamil Language*, by the REV. G. U. POPE, M.A., D.D., Balliol College, Oxford. Part III. Key to the Exercises, with Notes on Analysis. Seventh Edition. (Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1904.) A very useful key to Dr. Pope's well-known handbook. It contains seventy-nine exercises, and Appendices on the Division of Time—Cycles, Months, the Week; also on Fractions, the Points of the Compass, and Tables of Relationship.

*East of Asia*, vol. iii., No. 3. (*North China Herald* Office, Shanghai.) This is a charming and most interesting number. The illustrations are beautiful. The contents embrace such subjects as: Chinese Customs connected with Births, Marriages, and Deaths; Curious Bridges in Interior China; Iu-i, or Sceptre of Good Fortune; Manchuria, the Coveted Land; the Province of Miao and Chungchia Tribes of Kueichou; Morning Walks around Hanyang; Pootoo, China's Sacred Plant. The letterpress is clear, distinct, and admirably executed.

*Maitreyi*, a Vedic story in six chapters, by PANDIT SITANATH TATTVABHUSHAN. Reprinted from the *Indian Review*. (Publishers, G. A. Natesan and Co., Esplanade, Madras.) To understand the story, the reader has to transplant himself to Behar. The writer speaks of the ancient time when the materials were furnished for the composition of the Upanishads.

*Rudyard Kipling*, a criticism, by JOHN M. ROBERTSON, author of "Patriotism and Empire," with portraits of Kipling and Robertson. Reprinted from the *Indian Review*. (Publishers, G. A. Natesan and Co., Esplanade, Madras.) The writer considers that Kipling possesses "gifts of vivid visualization and tersely vivid expression."

*The Son-in-Law Abroad, and other Indian Folk-Tales of Fun, Folly, Cleverness, and Humour*, by P. RAMACHANDRA ROW, B.L. Published by G. A. Natesan and Co., Esplanade, Madras. The reader will be amazed by this short collection.

*The Year-Book of New South Wales*, compiled by the Editor of "The Year-book of Australia," for circulation by the Agent-General in London, Westminster Chambers, 9, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W., 1905. This pamphlet of 168 pages is a veritable mine of information concerning the State of New South Wales.

*Yavandsatakam*. Hundert Sanskrit-Strophen nach griechischen Dichtern, von Carl Cappeller. Beilage zum Oster-Programm der Pfeiffer'schen Realschule zu Jena (Jena, Universitäts-Buchdruckerei, G. Neuenhahn).

We have received small reprints of several articles in the Smithsonian Report for 1903 from the Smithsonian Institute, Washington, viz.: No. 1,518, *The Evolution of the Human Foot*, by M. Anthony;—No. 1,528, *Problems arising from Variations in the Development of Skull and Brains*, by Professor Johnson Symington, M.D.;—No. 1,530, *The Excavations at Abusir, Egypt*, by Professor A. Wiedemann;—No. 1,531, *The Ancient Hittites*, by Dr. Leopold Messerschmidt;—No. 1,532, *Central*

*American Hieroglyphic Writing*, by Cyrus Thomas ;—No. 1,533, *Traces of Aboriginal Operations in an Iron Mine near Leslie, Mo.*, by William H. Holmes ;—No. 1,534, *Lhasa and Central Tibet*, by G. Ts. Tsybikoff ;—No. 1,536, *From the Somali Coast through Ethiopia to the Sûdan*, by Oscar Neumann ;—No. 1,537, *Primeval Japanese*, by Captain F. Brinkley ;—No. 1,538, *The Korean Language*, by Homer B. Hulbert.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: George Newnes, Limited, London and New York: *The Captain, The Strand Magazine, The Grand Magazine, The Sunday Strand, The Wide World Magazine*;—*Technics*, a magazine for technical students;—*A Technological and Scientific Dictionary*, edited by G. F. Goodchild, B.A., and C. F. Tweney; *C. B. Fry's Magazine*, and *The Survey Gazetteer of the British Isles*, with maps and plans, edited by J. G. Bartholomew, F.R.G.S., now completed (twenty parts);—*Biblia*, a monthly journal of Oriental Research in Archæology, Ethnology, Literature, Religion, History, Epigraphy, Geography, Languages, etc. (Biblia Publishing Company, Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.);—*The Indian Magazine and Review* (London: A. Constable and Co.);—*The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Madras Review*;—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder);—*The Contemporary Review*;—*The North American Review*;—*Public Opinion*, the American weekly (New York);—*The Monist* (The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, U.S.A., and Kegan Paul and Co., London);—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*The Harvest Field* (Foreign Missions Club, London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The Light of Truth, or Siddhanta Deepika* (Black Town, Madras);—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, continuing "Hebraica" (University of Chicago Press);—*Canadian Journal of Fabrics* (Toronto and Montreal);—*The Canadian Engineer* (Toronto: Biggar, Samuel and Co.);—*The Cornhill Magazine*;—*The Zoophilist and Animals' Defender*, and supplement of March 1;—*The Pasteur "Cure" for Rabies* (92, Victoria Street, London, S.W.);—*Sphinx*. Revue critique embrassant le domaine entier de l'Égyptologie, publiée par Karl Piehl (Upsala: Akademiska Bokhandeln, C. J. Lundström; London: Williams and Norgate, 14, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden);—*Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales*. Revue de politique extérieure, paraissant le 1<sup>er</sup> et le 15 de chaque mois (Paris: Rue Bonaparte 19);—*The Rapid Review* (C. Arthur Pearson, Henrietta Street, W.C.);—*The Theosophical Review* (The Theosophical Publishing Society, 161, New Bond Street, London, W.);—*The Board of Trade Journal* (with which is incorporated the *Imperial Institute Journal*), edited by the Commercial Department of the Board of Trade (Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, E.C.; Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh; Edward Ponsonby, Dublin);—*The British Empire Review*, the organ of the

British Empire League, a non-partisan monthly magazine for readers interested in Imperial and Colonial affairs and literature (The British Empire League, 112, Cannon Street, London, E.C.);—*Climate*, a quarterly journal of Health and Travel, edited by C. F. Hartford, M.A., M.D. (Travellers' Health Bureau, Leyton, E., and Castle, Lamb and Storr, 33, Salisbury Square, Fleet Street, E.C.);—*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*. Revue philologique, paraissant tous les trois mois, vol. iv., No. 3 (Hanoi: F.-H. Schneider, Imprimeur-Éditeur, 1904);—*The Wednesday Review* of politics, literature, society, science, etc. (S. M. Raja Ram Rao, editor and proprietor, Teppakulam, Trichinopoly, Madras). *The Hindustan Review and Kayastha Samachar*, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, Barrister-at-law (Allahabad, India, 7, Elgin Road).

We regret that want of space obliges us to hold over the notices of the following works: *Japan: The Place and the People*, by G. Waldo Browne (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co., Limited);—*A Short History of Ancient Egypt*, by Percy E. Newberry, author of "Beni Hasan," "El Bersheh," etc., and John Garstang, Reader in Egyptian Archaeology, University of Liverpool, author of "The Third Egyptian Dynasty," etc.; also *The Russo-Japanese Conflict: Its Causes and Issues*, by K. Asakawa, Ph.D., Lecturer on the Civilization and History of East Asia at Dartmouth College, author of the "Early Institutional Life of Japan," etc., with an introduction by Frederick Wells Williams, Assistant Professor of Modern History in Yale University, illustrated (London: Archibald Constable and Co., Limited, 16, James Street, Haymarket, 1904);—*The Ring from Jaipur*, by Frances M. Peard, author of "The Rose Garden," "Contradictions," etc. (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 15, Waterloo Place, 1904);—*Chandra Shekar*, a Bengali novel by the late Rai Bahadoor Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, C.I.E., translated by Manmatha Nath Ray Chowdhury, of Santosh (London: Luzac and Co., 46, Great Russell Street, W.C.);—*Indian Life in Town and Country*, by Herbert Compton, with seventeen illustrations (London: George Newnes, Limited, Southampton Street, Strand, W.C.);—*With the Pilgrims to Mecca: The Great Pilgrimage of A.H. 1319, A.D. 1902*, by Hadji Khan, M.R.A.S. (special correspondent of the *Morning Post*), and Wilfrid Sparroy, author of "Persian Children of the Royal Family," with an introduction by Professor A. Vambéry (London and New York: John Lane, 1905);—*The Unveiling of Lhasa*, by Edmund Candler, author of "A Vagabond in Asia," with illustrations and map, second impression (London: Edward Arnold, publisher to H.M. India Office, 41 and 43, Maddox Street, Bond Street, W., 1905);—*Rice Papers*, by H. L. Norris (London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green and Co., 39, Paternoster Row);—*Japan and the Japan Mission of the Church Missionary Society*, fourth edition, with a map and illustrations (London: Church Missionary Society, Salisbury Square, E.C., 1905);—*Hakluyt's English Voyages, selected and edited, with introduction, notes, and glossary*, by E. E. Speight, B.A., F.R.G.S., with a preface by Sir Clements R. Markham, K.C.B., F.R.S., President of

the Hakluyt Society and of the Royal Geographical Society, with illustrations and map by R. Morton Nance (London: Horace Marshall and Son, Temple House, and 125, Fleet Street, E.C., 1905);—*The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, by V. Kanakasabhai (Madras and Bangalore: Higginbotham and Co., 1904);—*Cook's Handbook for Egypt and the Sūdān*, by E. A. Wallace Budge, M.A., Litt.D., etc., Keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum (London: Thomas Cook and Son, Ludgate Circus, E.C.; Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., Limited, 1905);—*Vocabolario italiano-tigrai e tigrai-italiano*, by Alfonso Cimino, ufficiale coloniale (Rome: Ermanno Loescher and Co., di Bretschneider e Regenberg, 1904);—*Grammaire d'Arabe régulier*, by L. Galland, Capitaine d'Infanterie Coloniale, preface by Dr. E. Montet, Professeur d'Arabe à l'Université de Genève, Doyen de la Faculté de Théologie (Paris: Librairie Orientale et Americaine, E. Guilmoto, éditeur, 6, Rue de Mézières, et 26, Rue Madame);—*The Story of my Struggles*: the memoirs of Arminius Vambéry, Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Budapest, two volumes (London: T. Fisher Unwin, Paternoster Square, 1904);—*The Life of the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava*, by Sir Alfred Lyall, P.C., with portraits, etc., 8vo., two volumes (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, W.);—*The Story of an Indian Upland*, by F. B. Bradley-Birt, B.A., I.C.S., late Scholar of Brasenose College, Oxford, etc., with twenty illustrations and a map, and an introduction by the Hon. H. H. Risley, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Home Secretary to the Government of India (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 15, Waterloo Place, S.W., 1905).

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : GENERAL.—At the end of December last, Ināyat-ullah Khān, the eldest son of the Amir of Afghanistan, with a suite, arrived at Calcutta, and was received with great ceremony by the Viceroy in the throne room of Government House. He was warmly welcomed, and repeatedly expressed his delight at his reception. He left Calcutta on his return to Kabul on January 11, halting on the way at Agra and Rawal Pindi.

Lady Curzon, accompanied by Lord Curzon, arrived in Calcutta from England on March 5, and was accorded a splendid reception by all classes.

Lord Curzon declined to receive personally from Sir Henry Cotton a copy of the resolutions adopted by the Indian National Congress at Bombay, but received him as having recently occupied a high official position in India.

His Highness the Āgā Khan has been renominated a member of the Imperial Legislative Council. The Nawab Fath 'Ali Khan, Kizilbash, C.I.E., of Lahore, has been appointed an additional member of the Vice-regal Legislative Council.

Mr. Upcott, of the India Office, has been appointed chairman of the new Railway Board for India.

The Secretary of State for India has sanctioned the construction of three new huge canals in the Panjāb, one on the Upper Jhelum, one on the Upper Chenāb, and the third in the Lower Bari Doāb. The estimated cost is 782 lacs of rupees (£5,213,000). The total length of the three canals will be 2,714 miles.

In consequence of the failure of the rains over a large portion of Madras, considerable remissions of revenue will be necessary. The Madras revenue returns for December last show  $6\frac{1}{2}$  lacs less than those of December, 1903, owing to the failure of the north-east monsoon.

A Chinese High Commissioner, Tang Shao-Yo, accompanied by a staff of fourteen Chinese gentlemen arrived in Calcutta in February to open negotiations regarding Tibet. The Chinese Government has no intention of replacing the present Amban.

His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan has given a grant of Rs. 30,000 for a reserve fund to the Islamia College at Lahore. This sum is distinct from the yearly allowance of nearly Rs. 8,000 already granted by him.

The Survey Committee, on completion of their tour in the United Provinces this month, will proceed to the Panjāb and Baluchistan.

The plague is raging with unparalleled intensity. The return of deaths in one week alone amounted to 35,000. The worst centres are the Panjāb and the United Provinces.

INDIA : FRONTIER.—There was some fighting early in January between the chiefs of Dir and Nawagai, the latter capturing a fort. A British movable column at Malakand was held in readiness to preserve the Chitral lines of communication. All is now quiet in the Bajour district. Waziristan, Kurram, Tirah, and the Khyber region—in fact, all the country beyond the Hindoo Koosh—have had a severe winter.

At Wana, on February 11, Lieutenant-Colonel Harman, in command of the South Waziristan Militia, was killed by a Mahsud *ghazi*, of the same corps.

A British force composed of cavalry and artillery, under the Political Officer of the Khaibar Pass, surrounded the village of Kaddam, near Jamrud, and captured Sahib Gul, a Khuki-khel who had been proclaimed an outlaw.

INDIA: NATIVE STATES.—His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad entertained Sir David Barr at a farewell banquet on February 13 at his Falaknameh Palace. His Highness made a speech, in which he praised the great ability and courtesy of the retiring Resident. Sir David Barr, in reply, thanked His Highness for his sympathy, and summarized the improvements and advance made by every department of the State during the past five years. The new Resident is the Hon. Mr. Charles Stuart Bayley, C.I.E. At the Nizam's special invitation, Mr. G. Casson Walker, I.C.S., has agreed to remain for three years longer as Assistant Minister of Finance, subject to the sanction of the Government of India.

The Maharaja of Kapurthala has arrived in England with his sons, whom he will place in school.

BURMA.—Sir Herbert Thirkell White, K.C.I.E., has been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Burma in succession to Sir Hugh Barnes, K.C.S.I., who has been appointed a Member of the Council of India.

Mr. Berrington, Director of Indian Telegraphs, Traffic Branch, has been deputed by the Government to proceed to Shanghai to assist in the negotiations for the renewal of the Anglo-Chinese Telegraph Convention of 1894-1904, concerning which the Chinese Government had given notice that it desired to modify its clauses. It is hoped that the negotiations will result in better telegraphic communication between Burma and the neighbouring province of Yunnan, the line in Yunnan being generally in a deplorable state of repair.

CEYLON.—The revenue for 1904 amounted to Rs. 3,04,04,665, being Rs. 9,81,356 over the previous year.

The Colonial Office has sanctioned the loan of another million pounds sterling to complete railway and harbour works.

BALUCHISTAN.—The work of the Sistan Boundary Commission, as regards the demarcation of the Perso-Afghan frontier, has been completed, and the decision in regard to local irrigation questions has been given. The mission is about to return across the desert to Quetta.

AFGHANISTAN.—The British mission has been well received at Kabul.

His Highness the Amir has established a college at the capital, where 150 students, including his own sons, will be instructed on the lines followed in Indian institutions. His Highness has settled a handsome pension for life on the widow of the late Mr. Fleischer, and pensions until they are twenty-one on his two children. The cold has been very severe in Kabul and Afghanistan in general during the past winter.

The Amir has issued a firman with the object of inducing the fugitive Hazaras in Persia, Baluchistan, and India to return to their homes. The amnesty is to be in operation until next October, after which date refugees



will not be allowed to cross the frontier. The Hazaras will be installed in their own property if possible, otherwise they will receive allotments elsewhere. Those of Shaikh Ali Koh in no case will be allowed to return to their own lands, but will be sent elsewhere as a precaution against future trouble.

**PERSIA.**—In the annual administration report of the Indo-European Telegraph Department, it is stated that about six lacs of rupees were spent on capital account during 1903-1904 on the construction of the Central Persian telegraph line. The earnings amounted to Rs. 16,07,600, while the expenditure was Rs. 9,26,000. The net earnings were nearly Rs. 92,000 higher than in the previous year. This gives a profit of 4·97 per cent. on the capital.

The British-Indian commercial mission to Persia, which arrived at Kerman on December 17 last, proceeded afterwards to Bām, Narmāshir, Jirāft, and Rāni, and returned to Kerman on February 20. The mission returns to the coast viâ Yezd and Shiraz, arriving at Bandar Bushire about April 20.

**TURKEY IN ASIA.**—The Turkish Government have sent about thirty-two battalions of reinforcements to Yemen to suppress the insurrection there.

**RUSSIA IN ASIA: TURKESTAN.**—The Governor-General has issued a circular notice to the chief of the Transcaspian District, and to the military Governors of Sir-Daria, Samarqand, Ferghāna, and Semirechonsk districts, in which he reviews the history of the passport regulations in the Transcaspian region as affecting foreign immigrants from Native States on the Asiatic frontiers of Turkestan as well as from India. At the time when Turkestan was annexed to the Russian Empire the passport regulations of the latter were not held applicable to the newly-annexed districts. Provisional regulations were issued by the then Governor-General, whereby foreign immigrant natives were permitted to reside in the district on applying for passports to the local Governors instead of obtaining them from their own authorities through the intermediary of the Russian Consulates. These regulations were to remain in force pending their being embodied in a new Code. The latter, however, which was legalized in 1890, made no provision with regard to Turkestan, and on the question of its application to that district being raised in 1903, the late Governor-General decided that the Code was to have precedence over the provisional regulations; but in view of the special conditions subsisting in the district and absence of any explicit statement on the subject in the Code, the case was referred to the general staff, which has now forwarded its decision. It is to the effect that the Code regulations obtaining throughout the Empire are likewise to apply to Turkestan, and that any difficulties met with must be submitted to a preliminary consideration by the Governor-General.

The effect of this decision would be to make it obligatory for British Indian and other native subjects of countries bordering on Turkestan, on immigration to the latter, to acquire a passport signed by their own local authorities, with the visé of the Russian Consulate, before they will be admitted to enter or reside in the Russian Central Asiatic dominions.

**CHINA.**—A new council has been formed, composed of high officials

from the various Government departments, which will discuss matters of importance to the Empire, including foreign affairs. Its consultations will be conducted by correspondence, not verbally.

Tang Shao-Yo, special envoy for the settlement of the Tibetan question, has been appointed Chinese Minister to Great Britain.

THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR.—The Japanese assaulted and captured on December 31 Sungshusan and 203 Metre Hill, thereby securing the command of the old as well as the new town at Port Arthur. On the evening of January 1, General Nogi received a letter from General Stoessel, in command of Port Arthur, proposing a meeting to discuss terms of surrender. This was agreed to, and the terms of capitulation were signed the day after. They provided that the whole fortress, with the ships, arms, and other property of the Russian Government be surrendered, and soldiers, sailors, and volunteers to be prisoners. The transfer of Port Arthur was completed on January 10, when 878 officers and 31,000 men had marched out with the honours of war. Of these 441 officers and 229 orderlies gave their parole and were allowed to go to Europe, whilst Generals Fock, Smirnoff, and Gorbatorsky and Admiral Wilmann preferred to remain with the rank and file as prisoners of war in Japan. General Stoessel left Dalny for Europe on January 12. The following are some of the principal captures: Large and small guns, 546; ammunition (rounds) 82,670; rifles, 35,252; small-arm cartridges, 2,266,800; ammunition waggons, 290; transport waggons, 606; sets of harness, 2,096; horses, 1,920; battleships, 4, excluding the *Sevastopol*, which is sunk in deep water; cruisers 2, gunboats, steamers, and other vessels 30, besides 35 steam-launches. There were 15,000 sick and wounded in Port Arthur which were attended to and supplied with necessaries by the Japanese.

Serious fighting took place at the end of January at Hei-kau-tai, on the Hun-Ho, the Russians taking the offensive. They were repulsed with great loss, estimated at 25,000; the Japanese casualties amounted to 842 killed and over 8,000 wounded.

The Russian forces on the Sha-ho River at Mukden and Tieling amounted to about 450,000 men. After a colossal struggle south of Mukden, lasting a fortnight, the Russian troops were compelled to retreat before the continuous assaults of the Japanese armies. They were dislodged from Ma-chun-tan, Huai-jen, and Likuan-pan, on the right bank of the Hun-ho. They evacuated the whole line of the Sha-ho and retreated northward to the Hun-ho, north of Mukden. The railway was cut, and Mukden itself occupied by the Japanese on March 10. The Russians then abandoned the Hun-ho line of defence, and being followed up by the Japanese, their retreat became a rout. It is estimated that they lost 500 guns and 200,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners; the shattered remnants of the Russian armies reached Tie-ling, still followed by the Japanese. Enormous numbers of trophies fell into the hands of the latter, 50,000 prisoners being taken, including Major-General Nakhimoff. The Japanese casualties from February 26 to March 11 amounted to 41,222.

The total strength of the Russian forces engaged in the Battle of Mukden was 300,000 infantry and 26,000 cavalry, with 1,368 guns.

On March 15 the Japanese attacked the fortifications of Tie-ling, but were repulsed at first by General Linievitch's troops, but captured the place and kept up the pursuit of the demoralized and exhausted Russians, who retreated in great disorder along the railway to Kirin. General Kuropatkin has been superseded at his own request, and General Linievitch nominated Commander-in-Chief in his place. The Baltic Fleet is announced to have left Madagascar for an unknown destination, and the Japanese Fleet to have passed Singapore to encounter them.

EGYPT.—The receipts for 1904 amounted to £E13,900,000, and the expenditure to £E12,700,000, showing a surplus of £E1,200,000 at the end of the year. The economies effected by conversion amounted to £E6,000,000. The General Reserve Fund showed a surplus of £E3,185,000. The Special Reserve Fund amounts to £E2,617,602, and, after deducting credits not yet spent, shows a surplus of £E1,861,890. The Public Debt was reduced by £E911,580.

It is reported that Sir William Willcocks, K.C.M.G., will retire from the post of Managing Director of the Daira Sanieh Company, and will be succeeded by Harari Pasha.

THE UPPER NILE.—The expedition under Major Boulnois, of the Egyptian Army, which had been sent to punish the cannibal Niam-Niams, has been entirely successful. The country is now pacified and order is assured.

ABYSSINIA.—The Emperor Menelik has granted a charter to the National Bank of Egypt for the establishment of a State Bank of Abyssinia.

TRANSVAAL.—At a meeting of Boers held in Pretoria during January, a resolution moved by General Botha was adopted, demanding full responsible government, and refusing to co-operate under any other form of government.

The ordinary revenue for the six months ended December 31 last amounted to £1,865,237. The ordinary revenue and expenditure of the Intercolonial Council for the same period was £1,246,890 and £1,219,138 respectively.

The value of the imports for the first eleven months of 1904 amounted to £12,436,903, as compared with £17,923,421 in the corresponding period of 1903. The Customs amounted to £1,511,955 and £1,906,037 respectively for the same period.

ORANGE RIVER COLONY.—The Report of the Industrial Commission recommends that bonuses should be paid on wool, leather, preserving cement, tobacco, and pottery raised or produced in the colony. It also recommends the establishment of an Industrial Board.

At the opening of the Legislative Council on January 12, Sir Hamilton Goold-Adams, the Lieutenant-Governor, said that the agricultural prospects of the colony were unsatisfactory.

Three of the military stores at Bloemfontein were burnt down in February. The damage is estimated at £250,000.

The Lieutenant-Governor opened, on March 1, the railway connecting Bethlehem with Harrismith.

CAPE COLONY.—The revenue for the half-year ended December, 1904, was £1,167,327 less than in the corresponding period of 1903. The principal decreases were in railways and Customs.

The imports for the year ended in December last amounted to £21,863,340, as against £34,685,020 in the previous year. The exports, including Transvaal gold, amounted to £27,406,672, as against £25,714,440.

Lord Milner, who has resigned, has been succeeded by Lord Selborne as High Commissioner in South Africa.

The Bond Congress at Cradock has demanded an amnesty for rebels, a tax on diamonds, and further protection.

Visser, the last Cape rebel remaining in gaol, who had been sentenced for life for murder, has been released.

Parliament, which was opened on March 10, has promised the release of all rebels.

The estimates of expenditure for the financial year 1905-1906 show a decrease of £1,600,000, as compared with last year.

WEST AFRICA AND NIGERIA.—A large expedition of Southern Nigerian troops have proceeded through Guitsha, under the command of Major Moorhouse, who had with him twelve white officers and non-commissioned officers, 500 troops and carriers, and two maxims. The expedition has had to fight at several places, owing to the hostility of the petty chiefs of the interior towns.

Sir Frederick Lugard has been on a tour of inspection in NORTHERN NIGERIA, and has visited the districts south as far as Ibi and Yola. There is no punitive expedition in the country, but the strength of the recently-formed constabulary force has been increased, and is doing excellent work. In Bornu, Sokoto, and Kano peaceful trade is in full swing. The High Commissioner has imposed some new taxes, which the natives are paying unwillingly. At Lokoja there is a head-tax of 3d. on each native.

AUSTRALIAN COMMONWEALTH.—The Commonwealth Customs revenue for the six months ended December 31 last amounted to £4,588,000, or £120,000 less than the revenue for the same period of 1903.

VICTORIA.—The gold yield of the State for the year 1904 was 821,017 ounces.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—Mr. Butler has succeeded Mr. Jenkins as Premier.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—The gold yield for the year 1904 was 324,996 ounces, valued at £1,146,109, as compared with 295,778 ounces, valued at £1,080,029, in 1903.

The mineral output for 1904 is valued at £6,402,558, as compared with £6,116,254 in 1903.

Mr. Coghlan, the Government statistician, will be the acting Agent-General in London for the New South Wales State.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—The export and mint returns of gold for 1904 amounted to 2,373,022 ounces, compared with 2,436,312 ounces for 1903.

NEW ZEALAND.—The total output of gold for 1904 was 519,720 ounces, valued at £1,987,501, against 533,314 ounces, valued at £2,037,831 in 1903.

THE TONGA ISLANDS.—The financial control of these islands is to be taken over by Great Britain, the King having reluctantly signed the necessary documents as required by the British High Commissioner for the Western Pacific.

CANADA.—Lord Grey paid his first official visit to Montreal as Governor-General on January 24.

The result of the Ontario provincial elections has been the complete overthrow of the Liberals, who have held office for the past thirty-two years. The new Government has been constituted as follows: Mr. Whitney, Premier and Attorney-General; Mr. Matheson, Provincial Treasurer; Mr. Foy, Minister of Crown Lands; Mr. Rheame, Minister of Public Works; Mr. Monteith, Minister of Agriculture; Mr. Hanna, Provincial Secretary; Mr. Pyne, Minister of Education; Messrs. Beck, Hendrie, and Willoughby, Ministers without portfolio.

Two new provinces, "Alberta" and "Saskatchewan," are about to be made out of the present North-West Territories. Regina will be the capital of the former, and Edmonton the temporary capital of the latter. According to a return presented to Parliament, the public land in the North-West Territories still undisposed of amount to the enormous total of nearly 939,000,000 acres.

The estimates for the current fiscal year have been presented to Parliament. The total amount voted is \$68,664,397, being a decrease of \$6,305,651. Provision has been made for a direct steamship service between Canada and New Zealand, the subvention having been fixed at \$50,000.

The British Columbia mineral output for 1904 was roughly: Gold, \$6,400,000; silver, \$2,200,000; copper, \$4,600,000; lead, \$1,500,000; miscellaneous, \$600,000; coal, \$3,275,000; coke, \$1,200,000. Total output, \$19,775,000.

WEST INDIES.—The Legislative Council met on February 28. The estimates submitted anticipate a revenue of over £797,000, and provides for an expenditure of £817,000. It is proposed to meet the deficit by increased taxation.

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*Obituary.*—The deaths have been recorded this quarter of Major-General Thaddeus Richard Ryan, for thirty-six years with the Royal Artillery (Mutiny and Oude campaigns);—General Sir John Ross, G.C.B. (Eastern campaign, Mutiny campaign 1857-58, North-West Frontier campaign 1863-64, Malay Peninsula 1875-76, Afghan war 1878-80);—Brigadier-Surgeon James Dow Sainter (China 1860, India);—Sir George William Robert Campbell, K.C.M.G. (Bombay Revenue Survey 1856, Mutiny, resigned Indian Government Service in 1868 and entered Ceylon Service, 1872-73 acting Lieutenant-Governor of Penang);—Lieutenant-Colonel Harry Everard Passy, late Indian Staff Corps (China expedition 1900-01);—Colonel Howard William Smith, C.B., 2nd Battalion Hampshire Regiment (Afghan war 1879-80, Burmese expeditions 1885-87 and 1887-89, South African war);—Colonel Philip Sambrook Crawley, late of the Coldstream Guards (Eastern campaign 1854-55);—Mr. Henry Binny Webster, Bengal

Civil Service 1854 to 1886);—General James Blair, v.c., c.b., late of the Bombay Cavalry, honorary Colonel 32nd Lancers (Indian Mutiny campaign);—Major Paul Swinbure, late of the 80th Regiment (Bhutan expedition 1865, Perak expedition 1875-76);—Major Neville Cracroft Taylor, formerly of the West Yorkshire Regiment and Indian Staff Corps (South African war);—Colonel Henry Harcourt Griffiths (Afghan war 1878-80);—Rev. Davidson Macdonald, m.d., for many years head of the Canadian Methodist missions in Japan;—Prince Amir Khan, Sirdar-i-Muazzam, Commander-in-Chief of the Persian Army;—General William Legh Cabusac, late of the Bombay Staff Corps (Expeditionary Force in Persia 1857);—Khan Bahadur Dr. Rahim Khan, honorary surgeon to the Viceroy;—The Hon. Sir Francis Pakenham, k.c.m.g.;—Mr. Lawrence Colville Jackson, k.c., late Judicial Commissioner of the Federated Malay States;—Mr. Edward Charles Ozanne, c.s.i., late Bombay Civil Service, 1883 to 1897 Director of Agriculture, Bombay Presidency);—Colonel Edward Molloy, c.b., late of the 5th Gurkha Rifles (Cossiah and Jynteah Hills 1862-63, Bhutan expedition 1865, Hazara campaign 1868, Afghan war 1878-80, Mari expedition 1881, Hazara expedition 1891, Isazai Field Force 1892);—Lieutenant-Colonel Alfred Nimmo Sandilands, late of the Indian Staff Corps (Jowake Afridi expedition 1877-78, Mahsud Waziri expedition 1881, Miranzai expedition 1891);—Maharshi Debendra Nath Tagore, the venerable head of the Adi Brahma Somaj, at Calcutta;—Colonel Lancelot Allgood Gregson, formerly of the 26th Cameronians (Abyssinia 1868);—Captain William George England, r.n. (Fiji 1848, Baltic 1855-56, Taku forts 1860);—Lieutenant-Colonel John Campbell Taylor Humfrey, late of the Army Pay Department and Yorkshire Regiment (Hazara campaign 1868, Jowaki campaign 1877-78, Afghan war 1879-80);—Major Charles Frederick Marriott, late of the 6th Dragoon Guards (Afghan war 1879-80 and Khugiani Waziri expedition);—Colonel Alfred Harold Middleton, formerly of the 2nd Battalion Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders (South Africa 1902);—General Francis Peyton, c.b., Colonel of the North Staffordshire Regiment (North China 1842, Panjāb campaign 1848-49, Yusofzai Expeditionary Force 1858 and Mutiny);—Colonel Edward Walter Trevor, of the Indian Army (Afghan war 1879-80);—Surgeon Major-General Thomas Walsh, late of the Army Medical Service (Jowaki Afridi expedition 1877-78, Afghan war 1878-80, Egyptian war 1882);—General William Butler Butler-Shawe, late of the Bengal Infantry (Mutiny 1858, Afghan war 1878-79);—Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Edward Wood, late of the Army Pay Department and 93rd Highlanders (Mutiny);—Lieutenant-Colonel Lewis Ernest Cooper, commanding 57th Wilde's Rifles, Frontier Force (Miranzai expedition 1891, North-West Frontier 1897-98, Tirah expeditionary force);—Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Harman, d.s.o., commanding South Waziristan Militia, killed by a Mahsud *ghazi* at Wana (Hazara expedition 1891, Chitral relief expedition 1895, North-West Frontier 1897-98);—Lieutenant-Colonel A. G. Yaldwyn, d.s.o. (Afghan war 1879-80, Chitral relief force);—Admiral Sir H. G. Andoe, retired (Baltic 1855, Slave Trade, East Coast of Africa, 1863-67, Natal 1881, Egypt 1882, Sudan 1884);—Major-General De la

Fosse, C.B. (Mutiny, Sikkim Field Force 1861, North-West Frontier 1863); —Major-General William Carmichael Russell, Royal (late) Bengal Artillery, retired, joined in 1842 (Sutlej campaign 1845-46, including battles of Firuzshah and Sobraon, Mutiny); —Captain Robert Francis Warburton, 2nd Battalion 5th Gurkha Rifles, Frontier Force (Tirah campaign 1897-98); —Mr. Harry St. Aubyn Goodrich, I.C.S.; —Vice-Admiral James Lacon Hammet, C.V.O., latterly Admiral Superintendent Malta Dockyard (China 1869, Egyptian war 1882); —Major-General William Nembhard, late of the Indian Staff Corps (Sikh campaign 1846, Burma 1852-53, Mutiny campaign); —Major Harry Francis Pakenham, late King's Royal Rifles (Hazara expedition 1891, Miranzai expedition, South African campaign and relief of Ladysmith); —Captain Francis Joseph Parry, formerly of the Royal Marine Light Infantry (Crimea, China 1857-61); —Major James Alexander Ramsay, late Indian Army (Mutiny); Maharishi Devendranath Tagore, a great social and religious reformer of Bengal; —Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Denham Tomlinson, M.D., late of the R.A.M.C. and York and Lancaster Regiment (New Zealand war); —Major-General A. Walker, C.S.I., of the Royal (late Bengal) Artillery, Colonel-Commandant (Mutiny campaign, North-West Frontier 1863, Bhutan expedition 1865-66); —Major-General E. L. Hawkins, late of the Royal (Bengal) Artillery (Crimean campaign, Indian Mutiny); —Colonel Thomas Biggs, formerly of the Bombay Artillery (Southern Mahratta campaign 1844-45); Major Frederick Fanning, late of the Honourable East India Company's service, 9th Bombay Infantry (Superintendent of the Gujerat Survey before the Mutiny); —Lieutenant-Colonel John Brown, late 17th Lancers and Army Pay Department (Crimea, Mutiny campaign, Zulu campaign 1879, Nile Expedition 1884-85); —Mr. Ross Lewis Mangles, V.C., late Bengal Civil Service, and formerly Judicial Commissioner of Mysore, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, and a volunteer during the Mutiny; —Mr. Forbes Mitchell, a Mutiny veteran (served with the 93rd Highlanders at Lucknow); —Major-General A. W. Graham, late of the Bombay Staff Corps (Panjab campaign 1848-49), Persian expedition 1856-57, Mutiny campaign); —Major-General Sydney Joseph Hire (Panjab campaign 1848-49); —Dr. E. W. West, an eminent Pahlavi scholar and author of many works on Pahlavi; —Rev. Samuel Lewis Graham Sandberg, a senior chaplain on the Bengal establishment, a distinguished linguist, and an authority on Tibetan; —Mr. Reuben David Sassoon; —Brigadier-General Eyre Crabbe, C.B., in charge of military administration at Aldershot (Egyptian campaign 1882, South African war); —Colonel James Drummond Lambert, C.B., a former Director-General of the Army Veterinary Department (Zulu campaign 1879, Transvaal campaign 1881); —General John Bayly, C.B., Colonel-Commandant R.E., entered the Royal Engineers in 1839; —Sergeant Henry Hook, V.C., formerly of the 24th Regiment (Rorke's Drift); —Major Costerman, Vice-Governor-General of the Congo; —Captain Aubrey de Sausmarez Burton, of the 125th Napier Rifles, Indian Army; —Her Highness the Maharani Saheba of Nepal.

May 18, 1905.







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